

RECHARGED

DELHI

THE CAPITAL OF INDIA

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**REVISED AND ENLARGED
EDITION OF
"ALL ABOUT DELHI "**

WITH 54 ILLUSTRATIONS



ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
NEW DELHI ★ MADRAS ★ 1997

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PRICE RS. TWO

G. A. NATESAN & CO.,

MADRAS

The history and antiquities of Delhi are discussed at some length and graphic accounts of notable sights and scenes from well-known travellers and visitors are presented with suitable reproductions of illustrations. The present edition we claim to be an exhaustive handbook compiled from authentic sources. To make the book thoroughly comprehensive three appendices have been added giving picturesque accounts of the Durbars and the War Conference and the Conference of Ruling Chiefs and Princes. The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of a complete index and 54 portraits, illustrations and maps.

The publishers desire to express their warm thanks to the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan for his valuable assistance in bringing out this revised and up-to-date edition of "All About Delhi."

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

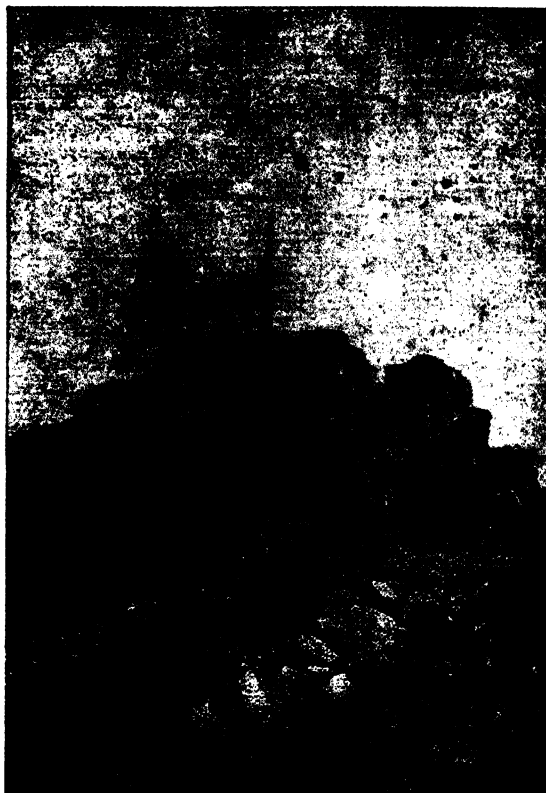
This little book, *All About Delhi*, has been compiled with great care to meet the wants of all those visiting the City during the coming cold weather in connection with the Coronation Durbar of His Imperial Majesty King George V. It is intended to be a concise and compact *Vade Mecum*. The illustrations, thirty-six in number, have been chosen with care, and will, it is hoped, add to its usefulness. The book does not pretend to any very great originality, the matter being largely drawn from the standard writers on the history, antiquities and architectural glories of Delhi. In the first chapter an attempt is made to throw some fresh light on the earliest history of the City with the aid of the Hindu epic, the *Mahabharata*, a subject least touched upon by writers on Delhi so far. Even Mr. Fanshawe, whom no writer on the City can to any extent neglect, has apparently nothing to say on its earliest history. He is more concerned with the Mutiny period than with any other in particular, though his

descriptions of the great mosques, palaces and other structural monuments of Delhi are of the highest interest. All these have been largely utilised in the present volume, and the compiler would here take the opportunity of recording his great indebtedness to Mr. Fanshawe's work. Of not less value to him has been Capt. Trotter's *Life of Nicholson*, which has been laid under contribution in the chapter on the Storming of Delhi. As regards the principal architectural monuments of the City, Dr. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* has been of the greatest use. Of modern descriptions of the City, Mr. Percival Landon's pen picture in his well-known work *Under the Sun* will, we have no doubt, be read with interest. The late Mr. G. W. Steeven's word picture in his book on *India* will be pronounced to be even more notable in that it happens to be the only sketch of the present city which attempts to give a kaleidoscopic view of it. A good account of the Mutiny and all the places connected with it has also

been included in the present volume and for this the author is indebted to the works of Mr. Fanshawe and Capt. Trotter already referred to, and to Mr. Kerr's *From Charing Cross to Delhi*, and to General Sir Hugh Gough's *Old Memories*. The succinct account of the "Mutiny Sites" given in this book is taken from Mr. Reynolds-Ball's *Tourist's India*, a book that deserves to be better known. To aid the visitor in his peregrinations round the city a concise Gazetteer has also been included. A few statistical and other details have been taken from the revised *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Comprehensive chapters on the two previous *Durbars* held at Delhi have also been added not only to give some idea of them to those privileged to witness the coming event, but also to enhance the value of the present publication as a book of reference. The detailed programme recently announced by the Government of India has, besides, been printed at the end of the volume.

1st September 1911.



ASOKA'S PILLAR

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ALL ABOUT DELHI

CHAPTER I.

DELHI—THE CAPITAL OF INDIA

INTRODUCTION

IT was indeed an act of imperial wisdom that King George at his coronation at Delhi on the 12th December 1911 declared Delhi to be once more the Capital of India. For more than a thousand years Delhi has dominated the imagination of the peoples of India. It has not only been the capital seat of the Indian Empire, the seat of the Supreme Government in India, but also a centre of learning and culture, of refinement and civilization, of art and manufacture, of trade and commerce. In it was reflected, at all times, all that was best and sublimest in Indian life and activity. Delhi was the epitome of India just as Rome was the epitome of the Roman Empire.

Situated almost midway on the great plain that stretched south-east from the heights of Afghanistan to the outskirts of Bengal and between the slopes of the Himalayas and the deserts of Rajputana, and on the

banks of one of the two principal rivers that watered Hindustan Proper, Delhi enjoyed a position of great topographical advantage. It is, therefore, no wonder that from time immemorial Delhi has been the chief city of Bharata. All roads from the four points of compass converged towards Delhi, and from Delhi marched forth in all directions hosts of army and caravans of merchants to conquer territories and capture markets. The Musalmans in their onward march of conquests cast covetous eyes on Delhi and for the first few Islamic centuries while a large portion of the then known world had come under the dominance of Islam, *Dehli* was *hanoa door* to Musalman conquerors. It was round Delhi that the Hindu kings made their last stand against Muslim invasion. It was the capture of Delhi that brought India under Muslim rule. Again it was Delhi that the Mahrattas attempted to take in order to put a coping stone to the empire they had built over a large part of Western and Central India; and because of the failure to include Delhi in it that the Mahratta rule dwindled into a number of principalities instead of becoming an empire of India that it bid fair to become at one time. It was from the Emperor at Delhi that the East India Company acquired the *Diwani*

rights to administer Bengal that it had snatched from its former ruler by force of arms. It was Delhi that the sepoy rebels in 1857 betook themselves to and sought the tottering shadow of the nominal ruler of Delhi to give their revolt a higher significance. It was on the recapture of Delhi that British rule was firmly established over India which soon after came under the direct sovereignty of the British Crown. On important ceremonial occasions when Indian imagination was sought to be struck, Delhi was chosen by the British Government for the spectacular display of power and for imperial demonstrations and durbars, and Delhi continued to be the site for the performance of the principal and most important functions of the capital town of the Indian Empire even when the actual seat of the Government of India was a thousand miles away from it.

The British Government inflicted the greatest possible punishment on Delhi for its share in the Mutiny of 1857 when they dislodged it from the proud position it had held for a thousand years. They did not suffer it to remain even the capital of the then North-Western Province. They went further in their act of retribution and dismembered Delhi from Hindustan proper of which it was the predominating integral

part and tacked it on to the Punjab with which it had nothing in common topographically, ethnologically or linguistically.

Notwithstanding these vicissitudes, Delhi, thanks to its natural position, continued to hold its own against the neighbouring towns and other provincial capitals. Railway lines from all points of compass converge towards Delhi in modern times just as all roads did in its glorious past, and traffic flows into it from over the Himalayas through Simla and Umbala; from Tibet, Turkistan and Afghanistan through Peshawar, Lahore and Amritsar; from Persia and Baluchistan through Karachi, Jacobabad and Bhatinda; from the Deccan, Bombay and Gujarat through Ajmere and Rewa, from Rajputana through Jaipur and Alwar; from Central India through Bhopal, Gwalior and Agra; from Bengal and Assam through Calcutta, Allahabad and Aligarh, from Orissa and Behar through Bankipore, Benares and Lucknow. Delhi continued to prosper as the commercial metropolis of Upper India and to its Chandni Chowk merchants continued to flock from the four quarters to purchase their stock-in-trade. Delhi is the principal centre of distribution for Upper India as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras are for the three Presidencies. The business is mostly done in the foreign imported goods,

but goods manufactured in the surrounding country such as Cashmir, Peshawar, Umbala, and Amritsar ; Moradabad, Lucknow, Saharanpur, Agra and Benares also find a ready mart in Delhi. Delhi itself has an extensive mill industry. There are four spinning and weaving mills and three cotton ginning mills, and several flour mills. Biscuit-making was first started in India at Delhi where it continues to flourish.

Delhi is famous for its works of art. Its jewellery, ivory carving, miniature painting, gold and silver pottery, silver, brass and copper ware have world-wide reputation.

Delhi also continued to remain the intellectual centre of India. It is one of the two principal seats of Hindustani or Urdu language which took its rise in Delhi. The most eminent poets of India, Ghalib, Zouq and latterly Dagh flourished there and there was born Hali, the founder of the national school of Urdu poetry. Dr. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Shamsul-ulema Dr. Nazir Ahmad, the fathers of modern Urdu, had their home in Delhi. The former chose Aligarh as the modern seat of Muhammadan education owing to its proximity to Delhi from which he wanted Aligarh to draw its inspiration. Dehelvis are well-known for their refined and courtly manners which are the proud heritage of both Hindus and Musalmans. There are

colleges there for Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, and Delhi possesses the best equipped and most ably manned college for the Unani system of medicine of which the well-known physician Hazikul Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan is the head. For fine arts and Indian music the *connoisseurs* still turn to Delhi for the gratification of their taste.

So Delhi was from all points of view as eminently fitted to be the Capital of British India as it was the Capital of Hindu and Muslim India and it came into its own lawful heritage when His Imperial Majesty King George ordered the seat of the Central Indian Government to be transferred there from Calcutta. Delhi may therefore look forward to the future with as much hope and aspiration as it looks to its past with pride and glory.

Mr. Percival Landon in his "Under the Sun" thus describes the position and importance of Delhi:—

Delhi, the mistress of every conqueror of India, Aryan or Afghan, Persian, English or Mogul, remains unconquered still. Over twenty square miles of sun-baked plain lie out the debris of her many pasts, relics of her dead and gone masters, some perfect still, some once more crumbling back into the levels of red-yellow marl that have alternately fed and housed, and fed and housed again forgotten generations of men. Yet Delhi lives. Like some huge crustacean, she has

shed behind her, her own outgrown habitations, as she has crawled northwards from Tughlakabad and Lalkot, through Dinpana and Ferozabad, till the long, red lizard of the Ridge barred her way, and now she suns herself, a raffle of narrow and congested byways, beneath the crimson walls of Shah Jehan's great palace-fort. But Delhi is more than her streets and temples. You may go round about her and count her towers; you may tramp from the Jumma Musjid to the Fort, from the Fort to the Pillar, from the Pillar to Humayun's Tomb and the great Minar; and when all is seen you will understand that these things do no honour to Delhi; it is Delhi that doubles their significance, and that of all that is found within her wide borders. Inscrutable and undeniable, her claim is different from that of all other towns of India, for she has no rival in greatness from the mountains to the sea, and all men know that whoso holds Delhi holds India.

CHAPTER II.

DELHI UNDER HINDU KINGS

EPIC PERIOD



PINION is divided as to the derivation of the word *Delhi*, but there is no doubt that it is not the oldest name of the town that first came into existence in its neighbourhood. This was the town of INDRAPRASTHA, said to have been founded by Yudhishtira, the eldest of the Pandava brothers. The exact circumstances that led to its founding are narrated in the *Mahabharata*. Briefly put, on the repatriation of the Pandavas, the Kauravas granted them the country included in the Khandavaprastha, "the expanding forest," situated in Kurukshetra, about 50 miles west by south of Hastinapura, the older capital, where the Kauravas preferred to stay. This forest was under the special protection of Indra and was inhabited by Takshaka kings, who were eventually burnt to ashes (according to the Epic) by Arjuna and Krishna at the instance of Agni. The new town established by Yudhishtira received the name of INDRAPRASTHA,

being "decked with innumerable white mansions," and looking like the city of Amaravati, the capital of Indra. A glowing description of the great city occurs in the Epic, which calls it "A SECOND HEAVEN" on earth.* Soon after its foundation, Arjuna and Krishna, apparently to extend their territorial limits, cleared the surrounding forest in which lived, we are told, herds of wild animals, countless birds, Nagas, and Takshakas by the score. It may be inferred from the Epic that this was undertaken to satisfy Aryan interests—since Agni is represented as appearing as a Brahman before Krishna and Arjuna—and in that case we may take the Nagas, whose possessions they thus destroyed, as the primeval occupiers of this part of the Hastinapura Raj. However that may be, the City of Indraprastha appears to have increased in size and wealth during the Pandava days. There is reason to believe that it was during their time one of the most well-known towns of India. It is referred to in later portions of the Epic as *Purottamam* (chief of towns). It was also known during this period under the alternative names of *Sakra-prastha*, *Sakrapuri*, *Satakratuprastha*, and

* It is a curious coincidence that a Persian couplet inscribed by Shah Jahan on the walls of the Dewan-i-Khas in the Fort says that, "If there is Heaven on the face of the earth it is this, it is this, it is this."

Khandavaprastha, the first four being synonyms of *Indraprastha*, and the last owing its origin to the forests in which it came to be established. One other fact we glean from the *Mahabharata* is that the town was the scene of many a noted incident recorded or referred to in it. It was there too that Vajra, the son of Aniruddha, was installed as king of the Yadavas, who settled in it.

HINDU KINGS

But it is difficult to say how much of historical truth can be deduced from the accounts collected together in the Epic. Real history commences about the middle of the 11th century after Christ, when a Rajput Chief of the Tomara clan, Ananga Pal by name, built LAL KOT or the Red Fort, where the KUTUB Mosque now stands, and founded a town. He removed from, it has been surmised, Muttra, the celebrated IRON PILLAR on which the inscription in praise of Chandragupta Vikramaditya is cut out, and set it up in 1052 A. D., as an ornament to the group of temples from the materials of which the Muhammadans afterwards constructed the great Mosque. An interesting story is connected with this Pillar. It is said that a Brahman told Ananga Pal that it had been so low down as to reach the head of Vasuki, the supposed serpent-king who is held to support the world, and had consequently become im-

movable, whereby the dominion was ensured for ever to the dynasty of its founder. The Raja dug out to the foundations and found its bottom reddened with Vasuki's blood, and immediately ordered it to be replaced. But his impiety rendered impossible its replacement to its original position. In consequence, it is said, the town received the name of Dheeli, because the column, which was its outstanding feature, remained loose (dheela) in the ground. This derivation is obviously a latter-day invention, for the original name was undoubtedly Dilli, in which form it is yet known to Hindus all over. *Dehlī* is the later Muhammadan form and the English people have corrupted the word into Delhi. Of all derivations suggested, the most probable one seems to be that which traces the name to the old Hindi word *Dil*, which means an eminence, the position of the town making it plausible. Ananga Pal ruled over a kingdom of but small dimensions, extending from Hansi on the north, the Ganges on the east, Ajmere on the west and Agra on the south. His descendants ruled during the next one hundred years, when it was supplanted by Visaldev, known popularly as Bisaldeo, a Chauhan Chief of Ajmere. His grandson was Prithvi Raj, the famous Rai Pithora, so well known to Northern Indian tradition. He was king both of Delhi and

Ajmere, and built the city which long went by his name at the former place and whose walls may yet be traced round the KUTUB MINAR. He carried off the daughter of Jayachchandra of Kanauj about 1175 A. D., and seven years later defeated the Chandella Raja. But his fame rests on the heroic resistance he offered to the advance of the invading Muhammadan hosts.

MUHAMMAD GHORI'S ATTACK

Punjab was now in the hands of Muhammad Ghori, who advanced as far as Bitunda and left a strong army there. Prithvi Raj placed himself at the head of a confederacy of Chiefs, and proceeded towards Bitunda, with an army of 2,000 horses and 3,000 elephants. Muhammad Ghori marched to the relief of the garrison, but at Narain, now called Tiraori on the banks of the Sarasvathi (between Thaneswar and Karnal), he was encountered by the Hindu kings, whom he opposed. The fight was at close quarters and the Rajah of Delhi—in the words of Ferishta—pierced Muhammad Ghori through the right arm, and almost felled him down, when he was borne away by one of his faithful followers. The Sultan's retirement led to a panic and the Muslim army was soon in full retreat, pursued for forty miles by the Hindus. Ghori keenly felt the disaster, and, as he himself said, he never from that moment

“slumbered in ease, or waked, but in sorrow and anxiety.” He returned in 1193 A.D., with a newly recruited army of 120,000 men, Afghans, Turks and Persians. Prithvi Raja awaited his enemy on the same field of Narain. The Muslim cavalry in four divisions of ten thousand each harassed the Rajputs on all sides, and when it was found that the latter remained still unbroken Ghorî lured them to disorder by a feigned retreat ; then taking them at a disadvantage, he charged at the head of twelve thousand picked horsemen in steel armour and won the battle. Chaurind Rai of Delhi, lay dead on the field, and Prithvi Raj himself mounted a horse and fled, but was captured near Sirsuti and put to death. Ajmere, Hansi and Sirsuti were then annexed. Muhammad Ghorî's slave, Kutb-ud-din Aybek was appointed Viceroy of India who after his master's death founded the Empire of Delhi.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY MUHAMMADAN KINGS

KUTBUDDIN

Kutbuddin was not only great in war, but also famous for his generosity, being called Lakhbuksh, "Bestower of Lakhs." He commenced the Mosque that bears his name in 1193, soon after the capture of the town, and also built the well-known KUTUB MINAR. His son Aram who succeeded him was "ill-adapted to govern such an Empire," and was within a twelve month displaced by his brother-in-law Altamish who succeeded him. He won back Bengal from Kutbuddin's son-in-law and took Ujjain and sacked it. He finished the Mosque and the Minar begun by his father-in-law and died in 1236. His son was a cruel man and was deposed in favour of his sister Rezia, the only queen regent who ruled over Delhi.

SULTANA REZIA

She was, in the words of Ferishta, "endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinize her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman." She had studied the Koran, and

had acted as regent during her father's absence from the capital during his southern campaigns. She discarded her female apparel and veil, wore a tunic and a cap like a man, gave public audience, and rode on elephants without any attempt at concealment. But her partiality in which, however, there was nothing criminal, for her Master of the Horse, who was an Abyssinian slave to boot, proved fatal to her. The Turki Chief of Altunia first raised the standard of revolt; she advanced against him but was captured and thrown into prison. She soon escaped and advanced against Delhi. Two bloody battles followed, and the Sultana was taken prisoner and put to death. She was succeeded by two profligate and worthless rulers, and they in turn by Nasir-ud-din.

NASIR-UD-DIN

He lived the life of a simple man, his earnings by copying Koran covered his modest wants. He had only one wife who cooked his meals and had no female attendants to help her. He was gentle and scholarly, and was fond of the society of learned men. The general history of Persia and India, known as *Tabakati Nasiri*, after his name, was composed at his court and is still famous all over India and Persia. His devoted slave Balban ably carried on the

affairs of the State which were by no means smooth as the atmosphere was surcharged with rebellion, conspiracy and Mongol alarms.

BALBAN

He was succeeded by Balban, his great minister. He put down all the disturbing elements with an iron hand. His drastic measures resulted in establishing peace and prosperity. At his Court were gathered—owing to the Moghul invasion—as many as fifteen Muhammadan princes, after whom he named several of the DELHI STREETS. And as for literary fugitives their name was legion, and these were the special favourites of Prince Muhammad, his eldest son. Amongst these was the poet, Amir Khusrou, on the enjoyment of whose society the Prince was congratulated by the celebrated Sadi, who sent him a copy of his works and regretted that his extreme old age prevented his accepting an invitation to Delhi. This Prince died in an engagement with the Moghuls and Balban was succeeded by a grandson of his son, named Kaikobad

THE KHILJI DYNASTY

Kaikobad was a useless man, and was assassinated at the instance of Jelal-ud-din Khilji, who established himself on the vacant throne in 1288 A.D. This dynasty

left little mark on the imperial city. Jelal-ud-din took DEVAGIRI (now Doulatabad) in the Deccan and beat off the Moghuls as many as four times from the Delhi Gates. In one of these, he took a large number of them into his own service, and converting them to Islam assigned quarters to them at what is still known in Delhi as MOGULPURA. He was foully murdered by Alla-ud-din, who gloried in the title of Alexander II. He beat off the Moghuls twice from their attempts to take, and perhaps sack, Delhi. It was to deter the Moghul savages that he fortified, in 1299, his camp at SIRI and this place afterwards became NEW DELHI and was joined to OLD DELHI by the defences of JAHANPANAHA. During his reign Malik Kafur invaded South India. Kafur eventually poisoned his master, but he was himself soon after put to death and Mobarak, the old king's son, succeeded. His misdeeds ended in the usurpation of Khusru Khan, a low caste Hindu, who was put to death in battle by Ghazi Khan Tughlak, the Governor of the Punjab, who founded the Tughlak dynasty in 1321 A. D.

TUGHLAK DYNASTY

Ghazi Khan took the name of Ghaiyas-ud-din, and founded a new capital, known as TUGHLAKABAD, on a rocky eminence, about four miles east of the present town. It is remarkable for its massive grandeur but none live in it now.

He was succeeded by Muhammad Bin Tughlak in 1325, the luckless mad man who thrice tried to remove the capital to Doulatabad in the Deccan. It was during his reign that Ibn Batuta, a native of Tanjiers, visited Delhi. IBN BATUTA'S PICTURE OF THE CITY—where he was appointed a judge on a salary of 12,000 *dinars* per annum by the Emperor—is a graphic one attesting to its desolation and architectural grandeur. "When I entered Delhi," he writes, "it was almost a desert. Its buildings were very few in other respects, it was quite empty, its houses having been forsaken by its inhabitants.....the consequence was, the greatest city in the world had the fewest inhabitants." That is no exaggeration, for, we have Ferishta exclaiming that he left "the noble metropolis of Delhi a resort for owls and a dwelling place for the beasts of the desert." Despite this, he calls Delhi, "the most magnificent city," combining at once both beauty and strength.

Its walls are such as to have no equal in the whole world. This is the greatest city of Hindustan; and, indeed, of all Islamism in the East. It now consists of four cities, which becoming contiguous have formed one.....the thickness of its walls is eleven cubits... its Mosque is very large; and in the beauty and extent of its building it has no equal. Before the taking of Delhi, it had been a Hindu temple which the Hindus call El But Khana (Idol House), but after that event, it was used as a Mosque. In its court-yard is a cell,

to which there is no equal in the cities of the Mahomedans; its height is such that men appear from the top like little children. In its court, too, there is an immense pillar, which they say is composed of stones from seven different quarries. Its length is thirty cubits; its circumference eight, which is truly miraculous.

Apparently Ibn Batuta here refers to the ASOKA PILLAR, popularly called *Ferozshah's Lat* as it is (erroneously it would appear, if Batuta is correct) believed to have been brought by him from Topra near Khizrabad in the Ambala District. This is a monolith some 42 ft. in height, and stands amidst the ruins of Feroz's palace, just inside the modern south gate. Ferozshah succeeded his father—"the cruel tyrant" as Ferishta stigmatises him—in 1351 A.D. He was learned, wise and capable. He built FIROZABAD which appears to have occupied all the ground between the TOMB OF HUMAYUN and the RIDGE, where he fixed his capital. He recompensed all those who had suffered under the hands of his predecessor; reformed the criminal law, abolished vexatious taxes and spent largely on public works. He carved all his regulations on the MOSQUE OF FEROZABAD, from which a long quotation is given by Ferishta. His greatest work was the excavation of the FIRST CANAL in Northern India for irrigation purposes which partially survives in the western Jumna and eastern Jumna canals. His

immediate successors left no mark on Delhi ; indeed, until we come to the times of Muhammad Tughlak, we have nothing to record about its progress. He was a minor, and Timur, the famous Tartar Chief, burst on the capital already torn by sanguinary broils between factions.

Timur's march is described in graphic detail by Ferishta. It was December 1398. Timur marched step by step, conquering and laying waste, until he lay before the very walls of Delhi. The King and his General fled for their lives and Delhi surrendered, and Timur publicly proclaimed himself Emperor. Plunder and violence brought on resistance. "This led," writes Ferishta, "to a general massacre, some streets were rendered impassable by the heaps of dead ; and the gates being forced, the whole Moghul army gained admittance, and a scene of horror ensued easier to be imagined than described." Thus ended the first sack of Delhi by the Moghuls. For five days, we are told, Timur remained a quiet witness to the sack and despoilation of the fair city. When they were tired of their deadly work and nothing remained to take, he gave the order to march. The city yielded an incredible amount of booty, and countless men and women were sold into slavery, Timur himself carrying the identical architects and masons who built

FEROZ'S MOSQUE, which he much admired, from Delhi to Samarkand to build one on a similar plan. For two months after his departure Delhi remained without a government and almost entirely destitute of inhabitants, until Ekbal, a dependant of Muhammad, recovered it. The people now gradually returned and in a short time the old city put on the appearance of populousness, especially in the quarter known as the New City. Muhammad returned and was pensioned off. He died in 1412, and the Sayyid vassals of the Moghuls held the city until 1450, when the Lodi Dynasty succeeded to the old Empire.

LODI DYNASTY

Buhlol Lodi, the founder, left a consolidated kingdom to Sikander Lodi, (1503) who was one of the bigots who sat on the Delhi throne. He made Agra his capital, but Delhi retained much of its regained importance. His son Sikander was even a worse tyrant, and it is no wonder that rebellion broke out everywhere in his dominions. Babar, who claimed part of Timur's conquests as his inheritance, now marched forth with an immense army on Delhi. Ibrahim went out and gave him battle at Panipat (1526 A.D.), but was completely routed, he himself being amongst those

slain. Delhi surrendered, and Agra was taken, and the Moghul rule was established in India. Sher Shah, the Afghan Governor of Bengal, however succeeded in beating Humayun at Kanouj on May 17th 1540 and the 'battle of the Ganges' for a time put an end to the Moghul empire. Humayun however returned to India and wrested Delhi from the Atghans in 1556.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MOGHUL EMPERORS

Babar's son Humayun returned to Delhi, and built and restored what is now known as PURANA KILLA (Old Fort) which is on the site of the old INDRAPRASTHA. The Afghan Sher Shah who defeated and drove Humayun to Kabul in 1540, enclosed and fortified the city with a NEW WALL. One of his approaches known by the LAL DARWAZA (Red Gate) still stands in solitary grandeur on the road-side, facing the local jail. His son and successor built the fortress of SALIMGARH, which still preserves his name. HUMAYUN'S TOMB, found in the neighbourhood, is a most striking architectural relic of early Moghul times. Akbar, who ascended the throne in 1556, lived mostly in Agra, where he lies buried, and Jehangir left as little mark on Delhi as his illustrious father. It looks so strange that the greatest of the Moghul Emperors should be so little connected with the history of the great imperial city. ABUL FAZL'S DESCRIPTION OF DELHI in his famous work the *Ain-i-Akbari*, is curiously suggestive of its secondary importance during Akbar's reign. "Delhi," he says, "is one of the greatest cities of antiquities;" and then follows a

succinct historical account in which reference is made to the different towns built by the former Emperors from Yudhishtira to Sher Khan. "Although," he winds up his account, "the monuments of these cities are themselves eloquent and teach us the highest moral lessons, yet even is this latest Delhi (of Sher Khan) now for the most part in ruins. The cemeteries are however populous!" Abul Fazl's account is confirmed by an INTERESTING SKETCH GIVEN BY WILLIAM FINCH who visited the city in 1611, the year of Jehangir's marriage with Nur Jehan. He travelled from Agra, then the capital, towards Lahore, and on the way halted at Delhi.

"On the left hand," he says in describing it, "is seen the carkasse of old Dely called the Nine Castles, and fifty-two gates, now inhabited only by Googers. A little short is a stone bridge of eleven arches, over a branch of Gemini (Jumna): from hence a broadway shaded with great trees, leading to the sepulchre of Hamaron (Humayun) this king's grandfather, in a large room spread with rich carpets, the tomb itself covered with a pure white sheet, a rich semiane over head, and a front, certain bookes on small tressels, by which stand his Sword, Tucke, and shoes; at the entrance are other tombs of his wives and daughters. Beyond this, under like shaded way you come to the King's house and Moholl (Mahal), now ruinous. The city is 2c. between Gate and Gate, begirt with a strong wall, but much ruinate, as are many goodly houses: within and about this city are the tombs of twenty Patan Kings, all very faire and stately. The Kings of India are here to be crowned, or else they are held Usurpers. It is seated in a goodly plain, environed with goodly pleasant gardens and monuments."



EMPEROR AKBAR.



EMPEROR JEHANGIR.



EMPEROR SHAH JAHAN.



EMPEROR AURANGZEB.

Shah Jahan, his son, however, made ample amends. He founded in 1638 modern Delhi, and called it SHAHJAHANABAD after himself. This is the present city. He surrounded it with the existing fortifications and built, besides his palace, the JAMA MUSJID, the materials being procured from the deserted cities of Ferozabad and the Afghan Sher Khan's new city. He also re-opened the WESTERN JUMNA CANAL. Most of his buildings were in course of construction, when he was taken, and carried off to Agra by his eldest son Dara Shekoh and there deposed by his youngest son Aurangazeb in 1658. Bernier records the pathetic story of how, in his involuntary exile, Shah Jahan longed to see the Musjid, but indignantly refused to view it merely from a war vessel on the river, as stipulated by his unfilial son and successor. From Shah Jahan's time, Delhi remained, except for brief periods, the Moghul capital. Aurangazeb resided at it in the early years of his reign and was visited at it by Bernier (1663) and Tavernier (1665). The former gives a detailed description of the new town erected by Shah Jahan, which, for brevity, he says, was called Jahanabad. BERNIERS' DESCRIPTION is too long to quote here (it extends to close upon forty-five pages in small print), but one who wants to get a first-hand idea of the

transformation the city underwent during Shah Jahan's reign ought to read it for himself. TAVERNIER'S ACCOUNT is considerably shorter, and incidentally we learn from it that Shah Jahan preferred Delhi to Agra, "because the climate is more temperate," and that while the king and the merchants lived at Jahanabad (Tavernier also styles the new city thus) the poor and the majority of the nobles lived in the old city—called in those days as Dehl. Sivaji, who contributed most to the downfall of the Moghul Empire, visited it in 1666. During Aurangazeb's time, the city, from all accounts, appears to have been in the hey-day of its prosperity. But it was during his time too that it tasted once again the royal blood. The parade of Dara Shekoh (who promised to be another Akbar) through its streets, seated on a wretched elephant and in ragged clothes and the subsequent exhibition through them of his body by Aurangazeb is one of the most touching events connected with the city during his long reign. This Dara, enlightened as a prince and faithful as a son, lies buried in the platform of Humayun's tomb. Aurangazeb died in 1707 and his son and successor Bahadur Shah followed him into the grave in 1712. During the next seven years the city witnessed the displacement and murder of four Emperors.

DECLINE OF MOGHUL POWER

Muhammad Shah began his reign in 1718 and ruled thirty years. He was the last and real Emperor of Delhi in the Moghul line. His rule was marked by the break-up of the Empire, and the founding of independent Kingdoms by old Governors and Vazirs. To add to the troubles, the Mahrattas wrested portions of the Empire, and the catastrophe was capped by the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739) who repeated the massacre of Timur the Tartar. For fifty-eight days, the pitiless Persian plundered the rich and the poor without distinction and returned home with a booty estimated at nine million sterling. THE PEACOCK THRONE, on which Muhammad was the last to sit, was also carried away by him. His son Ahmad Shah succeeded him, but was in 1754 deposed in favour of Alamgir II. In 1756, Ahmad Shah Durani invaded India and marched up to Delhi and put it to the sword. This was followed in 1759 by the murder of the Emperor himself by the heartless Ghazi-ud-din, and the capture of Delhi by the Mahrattas (1759).

CHAPTER V.

DELHI UNDER BRITISH RULE

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH OCCUPATION

The Mahrattas captured Delhi in 1759 just after Alamgir II was murdered by Ghazi-ud-din. They took Shah Alam II under their protection, but they were defeated by Ahmad Shah Durani, the Afghan, at Panipat in 1761. They however recovered the city in 1771 and restored Shah Alam to power. It was he who granted the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, in 1765 to the English. He was blinded and imprisoned by Rohilla rebels, from whom he was afterwards rescued. In 1788 a Mahratta garrison permanently occupied the Imperial Palace, and during the next sixteen years they were all supreme in North India. On March 14, 1803, Lord Lake having defeated the Mahrattas at the battle of Delhi (11th September 1803) entered the city and took the Emperor under British protection. Next year, Holkar attacked the city; but Col. (afterwards Sir David) Ouchterlony, first British Resident, successfully held out for eight days, until relieved by Lord Lake. The conquered territory was administered by the

English in the name of the Emperor, who died in 1806, and was succeeded by Akbar II who in his turn was followed in 1837—the year of Queen Victoria's accession—by the last of the Moghuls, Bahadur Shah.

THE MUTINY

The Sepoy Mutiny broke out on Sunday the 10th May 1857 at Meerut which is thirty-six miles to the north-east of Delhi. Some mutineers from Meerut came to Delhi and from the river bed below the window (ZER JHAROKA) of the King's apartment in the Fort, called upon the King to do them justice and to place himself at their head. The King immediately sent for Captain Douglas, Commandant of the Palace Guard, who spoke to the troopers telling them not to annoy the King but to pass on to the Kotila of Feroz Shah where their complaints would be heard. The same day—11th May—the three regiments of the Bengal Native Infantry and a battery of Native artillery stationed at Delhi mutinied.

That the King of Delhi had no direct connection with the mutiny of the troops is practically certain... From the first, he was wholly at the mercy of the mutinous soldiery who were controlled by a Council named the Barah Topi, or Twelve Hats (Heads), and his papers seized after September are full of senile complaints of the disrespect and discourtesy which he suffered from them. (Mr. H. C. Fanshawe.)

It is a remarkable fact that the war cry adopted by the two companies of the 38th

Regiment was "Prithvi Rajkijai"—a war cry which had been first heard at Delhi 700 years previously when the Chauhan Prince had inflicted a defeat on the invading Mohamed Ghouri who afterwards established Muslim rule in Delhi.

General Sir H. Barnard with 600 cavalry, 2,400 infantry, 22 field guns and a small siege train advanced on Delhi at 2 a.m., on the morning of the 8th June, against the enemy's position six miles in front of him at BADLIKI SARAI. Reinforcements were received from time to time both by the besiegers and the besieged and the siege lasted with varying fortunes for more than three months till General Nicholson got the upper hand on 14th September when he himself received a fatal wound in the action. Before he died on the 23rd the town had come in complete possession of the English. The old King, who had taken refuge in HUMAYAN'S MASOLEUM, was captured on the 21st. His two sons and a grandson were shot and their bodies exposed for twenty-four hours in front of the KOTWALI. Bahadur Shah was banished to Rangoon where he died in 1862.

It is a mistake to regard the siege of Delhi as but a single and comparatively speaking an unimportant episode in the great rebellion On the taking of the Imperial city depended the reconquest of India.

. . . Indeed in the opinion of most politicians of the time it was agreed that failure to take Delhi would mean abandonment of India with the exception of the great ports. (Mr. Reynolds Ball in the *Tourists India*.)

FROM THE COMPANY TO THE CROWN

Thus the British Power was really established in India at Delhi in September 1857. Next year, on 1st November, Queen Victoria assumed direct charge of the Kingdom of India when the control was transferred by an act of Parliament from the East India Company to the British Crown.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT

The Prince of Wales visited India in 1875-76 and it was then felt that the title of the Sovereign of India as mere *Malika* was not significant enough of the rule she had not only on the British Indian territory but also on the several Native States whose rulers owed her allegiance. So it was announced in the speech from the throne in the sessions of 1876 that Her Majesty deemed it necessary that the omission made at the time of her assumption of the direct Government of the Indian Empire in making suitable addition to the style and titles of the Sovereign should be supplied. The term Empress of India with its Persian synonym Kaiser-i-Hind was decided upon.

LORD LYTTON'S DURBAR

These titles were announced at a great Durbar on the historical plain near Delhi on 1st January 1877 in the presence of the heads of every department of Government; of 1,200 of the noble band of civil servants; of 14,000 splendidly equipped and disciplined British and Indian troops; of 77 of the Ruling Chiefs and Princes of India representing territories as large as Great Britain, France and Germany combined; and of 300 Indian noblemen and gentlemen besides. Altogether 68,000 were invited and did actually reside in Delhi and in its surrounding camps during the fourteen days of the Assemblage.

Lord Lytton, Her Majesty's Viceroy in India, presided over this function. The Message which Her Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to send to the Princes and People of India is enshrined in the heart of Indians and is regarded by them as their Charter of Liberty :—

That from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under our rule the great principles of liberty, equity and justice are secured to them, and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity and advance their welfare are the ever pleasant aims and objects of our Empire.

LORD CURZON'S DURBAR

Queen Victoria the Empress of India died on 22nd January 1901 and King Edward VII



QUEEN VICTORIA.

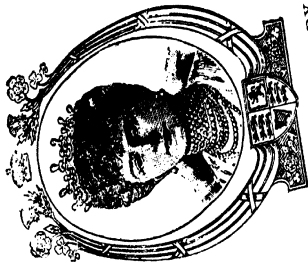
" May the God of all power grant to us and those in
authority under us strength to carry out
these our wishes for the good
of our people."



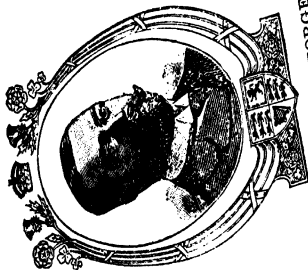
KING EDWARD VII.

"I need hardly say that my constant endeavour will be always to walk in her footsteps."

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
LONDON—750 010

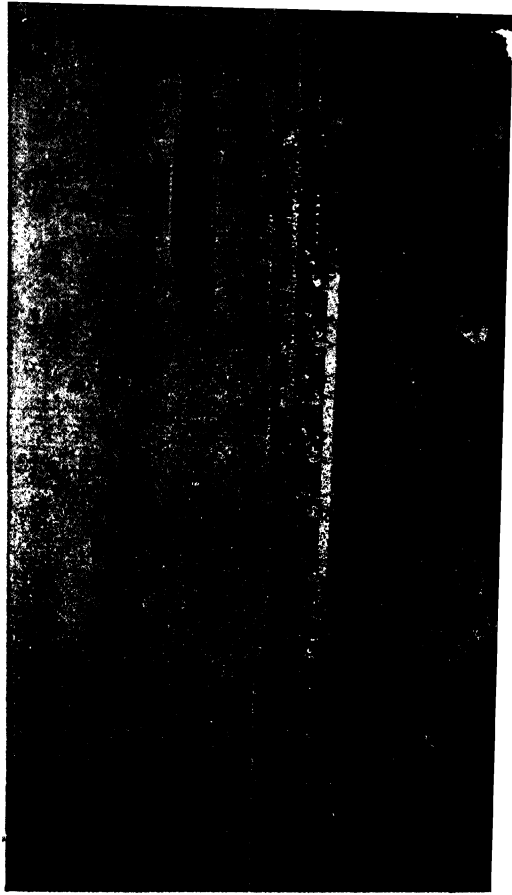


QUEEN MARY.
"The task of governing India will be made easier, if we on our part, infuse into it a wider element of sympathy."



KING GEORGE.
"The task of governing India will be made easier, if we on our part, infuse into it a wider element of sympathy."

THE DURBAR: HIS MAJESTY PROCLAIMING BOONS THROUGH THE VICEROY.



ascended the throne. His coronation was celebrated in London on the 9th August 1902. Delhi was again chosen for the public announcement of the celebration of the said solemnity to all "our loving subjects" within our "Indian Dominions" and "our right, trusty and well beloved Councillor, George Nathaniel Lord Curzon of Kedleston, our Viceroy and Governor General of India" was charged and commanded "to hold at Delhi on the 1st of January 1903 an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of declaring the completion of the said Solemnity of Our Coronation."

The Durbar was arranged on a magnificent scale and was a very impressive sight. "Nowhere else in the world would such a spectacle be possible as that which we witness here to-day," said Lord Curzon in his speech on the occasion.

I do not speak of this great and imposing Assemblage, unparalleled as I believe it to be. I refer to that which this gathering symbolises, and those to whose feelings it gives expression. Over 100 rulers of separate States, whose united population amounts to 60 millions of people, and whose territories extend over 55 degrees of longitude, have come here to testify their allegiance to their common Sovereign. We greatly esteem the sentiments of loyalty that have brought them to Delhi from such great distances, and often at considerable sacrifice; and I shall presently be honoured by receiving from their own lips their message of personal congratulation to the King. The officers and soldiers

present are drawn from a force in India of nearly 230,000 men whose pride it is that they are the King's Army. The leaders of Indian society, official and unofficial, who are here, are the mouth-pieces of a community of over 230 millions of souls. In spirit, therefore, and one may almost say, through their rulers and deputies, in person, there is represented in this arena nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. All are animated by a single feeling, and all bow before a single throne.

In his gracious Message King Edward, Emperor of India, thus proclaimed :

My desire, since I succeeded to the Throne of my revered Mother, the late Queen Victoria, the First Empress of India, has been to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable Administration which secured for her in so wonderful a degree the veneration and affection of her Indian Subjects. To all my Feudatories and Subjects throughout India, I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire, and the greater happiness of its People.

KING GEORGE'S CORONATION

Nine years later, Delhi was again a scene of a gorgeous Durbar. This time a real Royal Prince ascended the throne of Prithvi Raja and Akbar, and the ceremony performed on the occasion was the real coronation of the true Emperor of India. Once more the diadem Kohinoor scintillated in the polished marble walls of the Palace of "the King of the World" (Shah Jahan.) Thousands of

loyal eyes feasted on the "world illuminating" countenance of the Queen (Jahangir) and that of the King "the Ornament of the Throne" (Aurangzeb).

The 12th day of December 1911 will ever remain a red letter day in the annals of Indian history. The Durbar held that day outshone all the previous functions of its kind. The message the Emperor delivered to the peoples of India by his own royal lips revived the hopes of India the seeds of which were sown by his august grandmother half a century before, and sympathy—dearest to Indian hearts—was the keynote of his speech.

DELHI WAR CONFERENCE

Delhi the scene of the coronation of the first English Sovereign who visited India was proclaimed to be thenceforth the capital of India. It is from there that Indian operations in the world-wide war are being directed. It was there that—on April 1918, on the invitation of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the representative Princes and peoples of India met to confer with a view to increase still further the splendid contributions of India in men and money to secure victory to the British arms. And God willing, it will be at Delhi that India will

receive, at a not distant date, the greatest boon that a freedom-loving nation can grant to a sister nation that has under her wing put forth her best efforts in the struggle for the freedom of the world from the tyranny of autocratic rule.

CHAPTER VI.

SEVEN CITIES OF DELHI

1. INDRAPAT—PURANA KILA.

2. OLD DELHI—KUTUB.

Several cities sprang up one after another on the sites lying to the south of the present city of Delhi.

Standing on her high battlements, the eye can sweep over a wide expanse of yellow country scarred by ravines and dotted with trees and gardens till it reaches a long range of barren hills bathed in orange and lilac. Scattered over this wild stretch of land are surviving ruins, remnants of mighty edifices, tombs of warriors and saints, which convey a more impressive sense of magnificence than Imperial Rome. They are a memorial not of a single city but of supplanted nations. Eight centuries before the Latins settled on the plains of Latium and Campania, a band of Aryans drove from here aboriginal savages, and founded on the left bank of the Jumna the City of Indrapatna which grew into a mighty kingdom.*

The first city was founded by Yudhishtira to whom a portion of the forest of Khandwana was granted by the King of Hastinapur. He cleared the jungle and built the city fifteen centuries before the

* Mr. G. W. Forrest in "The Cities of India."

Christian era, seven centuries before Rome was built (in 753 B.C.) This city was at first known as Khandavaprastha, and then Indraprastha, Prastha meaning an "expanding forest." It was also called INDRAPAT or Indra's city because of its magnificence.

In its brilliance, during the days of the Pandavas, it is said to have looked like the city of Amaravati, the celestial capital of Indra, the Lord of the Devas, and was, we are told, "decked with innumerable white mansions." Other towns like it rose in the neighbourhood, and all these have been modernised into Indrapat, Panipat (famous in Indian history), Baghpat, Sonpat and Tilpat. It was over these five cities that the war celebrated in the *Mahabharata* was waged. Despite the fact that its present remains are all of the time of Humayun and Sher Shah, the place has a distinctly ancient look. On the way up to the JUMNA BRIDGE are still pointed out the traditional sites at which Yudhishtira, the Pandava Prince, performed the Dasa-Aswamedha (Ten-Horse) sacrifice as a sign of his imperial sway, and reared the Homa. At this spot a great fair is still held when the new moon falls on a Monday. Close to it is the NIGAMBODHGHAT, where Lord Siva is said to have discovered the lost knowledge of the Vedas. These are amongst the places still connected with the oldest Hindu

occupation of the city and are as such worthy of a visit.

It is said that this first city of Delhi was abandoned by the king and the people because the king found a fly in his food which was considered as an omen that the king's glory had departed. For eight hundred years the city remained desolate but it was repeopled again. It must have again fallen on evil days for even the village Indrapat has disappeared altogether and on the spot where it stood the Pathan Emperor, Sher Shah, constructed the fort now known as PURANA KILA of the Old Fort in which are situated his mosque and a building called Sher Mandal, which will be described in connection with the city founded by Sher Shah.

We do not know how many cities came into existence and disappeared in the many centuries that passed after Indrapat was obliterated till the shroud is uplifted from the face of history and the city of Rai Pithora is revealed to our view at the time Mohammed Ghori invaded and took it in 1193. It is suitably called "OLD DELHI" for it is the oldest city of which traces remain to this day to tell the tale of its past glory. "To understand old Delhi aright one must go over the ground time and again—inch by inch and stone by stone—and try to revisualise its

seven former cities peopled and stirred by the movings of a Great Empire." *

"OLD DELHI" was founded by a Rajput chief of the Tomara clan, Ananga Pal by name, who also built the LAL KOT or Red Fort in the eleventh century after Christ. It was Ananga Pal who removed to this city the celebrated IRON PILLAR and planted it there in 1052 A. D. as an ornament to the group of temples that seem to have existed on the spot where it stands. The city was either rebuilt or extended by Prithviraj for he is also credited with the building of the same city in the twelfth century to which he gave his own name. The walls of this city can be traced round the Kutub Mosque.

IRON PILLAR

The Iron Pillar in the courtyard of the Kutub Mosque is a Hindu memorial dating from about the 5th century A. D. It has excited great admiration during many centuries amongst visitors to Delhi. Fergusson considers it as "one of the most interesting objects" to be seen at the Kutub Mosque. He writes :—

The iron pillar stands—and apparently always has stood—in the centre of its court-yard. It now stands 32 ft. above the ground, and as the depth under the

* Mr. Gordon Sanderson in the Archaeological Survey of India Report for 1912-13.

pavement is now ascertained to be only 20 in. the total height is 23 ft. 8 in. Its diameter at the base is 164 in., at the capital 12·05 in. The capital is $3\frac{1}{4}$ ft. high, and sharply and clearly wrought into the Persian form that makes it look as if it belonged to an earlier period than it does; and it has the amalaka moulding which is indicative of considerable antiquity. It has not, however, been yet correctly ascertained what its age really is. There is an inscription upon it, but without a date. From the form of its alphabet, Prinsep ascribed it to the 3rd or 4th century; Bhau Daji, on the same evidence, to the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. The truth probably lies between the two. My own conviction is that it belongs to one of the Chandra Rajahs of the Gupta Dynasty, either consequently to A.D. 363 or A.D. 400.

Taking A.D. 400 as a mean date—and it certainly is not far from the truth—it opens our eyes to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that stage capable of forging a bar of iron larger than any that has been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this lot in roofing the porch of the temple at Kanarak we must now believe that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that, after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unruined, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago.

As the inscription informs us the pillar was dedicated to Vishnu, there is little doubt that it originally supported a figure of Garuda on the summit which the Mahomedans of course removed; but the real object of its erection was as a pillar of victory to record the "defeat of the Balhikas near the seven mouths of the Sindhu," or Indus. It is, to say the least of it, a curious coincidence, that eight centuries afterwards men from that same Bactrian country should have erected a *Jaya Stambha* ten times as tall as this one, in the same court-yard, to celebrate their

victory over the descendants of those Hindus who so long before had expelled their ancestors from the country.

The Iron Pillar dates probably from the sixth century of Christian era. The inscription upon which this conjecture is based consists of six lines of neat letters: the three couplets merely record the erection of the pillar to Vishnu, by one Chandra Raja. There are also brief inscriptions by the Tuar Anangapal II, and a Chauhan Raja, the former commemorating a re-peopling of Delhi by the prince named in 1052 A. D. The Hindu legend connected with the pillar is that it rested on the head of the great world Serpent, and that a Tuar prince having unadvisedly moved it to see if this was really the case, the curse fell upon him that his kingdom too should be removed.

The Pillar has been described as the most unique of the many antiquities of India. How it has remained without sign of rust is difficult for the iron manufacturers of the present day so long to explain. The Colossus of Rhodes, another of the seven wonders of the world, was wonderful, chiefly for its size, guarding the harbour of Rhodes, a ship in full sail could pass between its legs. But its brazen pieces were pointed and riveted. But this pillar is a *single shaft* of wrought iron weighing about 17 tons. Fortunately the

Muslim Conquerors of Dehli were less mercenary than those of Rhodes, who sold their Colossus to a Jew for the price of brass, while this iron curio is left still as a puzzle to antiquarians. All honour be given to Kutubuddin for leaving it in front of his Mosque.

JAIN TEMPLE

There seem to have been several temples in old Delhi the materials of which were afterwards utilized by Sultan Kutub-ud-din. The carved pillars in Jain style that we see in the corridors on the three sides of the mosque are not of course *in situ* as erected by Hindus unless the temple happened to be facing due west towards Mecca as all mosques should do in India.

If, therefore, the pillars at the Kutub were *in situ*, the case would be exceptional; but I cannot, nevertheless, help suspecting that the two-storeyed pavillions in the angles, and those behind the screen may be as originally erected, and some of the others may be so also in the construction of this mosque. It is quite certain, however, that some of the pillars at the Kutub are made up of similar fragments, and were placed where they now stand by the builders of the mosque. It may, however, be necessary to explain that there could be no difficulty in taking down and re-building these erections, because the joints of these pillars are all fitted with the precision that the Hindu patience alone could give. Each compartment of the roof is composed of nine stones—four architraves, four angular and one central slab * * * all so exactly fitted, and so independent of cement, as easily to be taken down and put up again. The same is true of the domes all which being honestly and fairly fitted, would suffer no damage for the process of removal and re-erection.

The section * * * * * of one half of the principal colonnade (the one facing the great series of arches) will explain its form better than words can do. It is purely Jaina. The pillars are of the same order as those used on Mount Abu * * * except those that at Delhi are much richer and more elaborate. Most of them probably belong to the 11th or 12th century, and are among the few specimens to be found in India that seem to be overloaded with ornament. There is not one inch of plain surface from the capital to the base, except the pillars behind the screen and some others which belong to the older buildings. Still the ornament is so sharp and so cleverly executed, and the effect, in their present state of decay and ruin so picturesque, that it is very difficult to find fault with what is so beautiful. In some instances the figures that were on the shafts on the pillars have been cut off, as offensive to Mahomedan strictness with regard to idolatrous images; but on the roof and less seen parts, the cross-legged figures of the Jaina saints, and other emblems of that religion, may still be detected.—(Fergusson.)

The view through the east gate is very pleasing and the view down the vista of columns on either side of the central dome of the east corridor is extremely beautiful. This corridor is practically complete, but only about three-quarters of the north corridor are so, and very little of the south corridor and plainer columns now remain. The most beautiful columns are in the north side of the east arcade and the carving of flower vases with foliage falling from them, conventional leopard's heads with garlands, ropes with tassels, bells on chains, and many floral designs, deserve to be carefully examined. On the fifth pillar to the north from the centre in the second row from the wall is a relief of a cow and a calf, and in the same line, fifth, on the edge of the court-yard, is, perhaps, the most beautiful of all the pillars. Many half-effaced Jain figures, and not a few undamaged ones, which could be completely concealed by the plaster, will be noticed on the columns. The galleries in the corner

of the arcade should be visited both for the sake of the beautiful ceilings of the domes and the carved scenes with elephants and horses on the beams across the corner of the side compartments of the roof; the numbering on the various stones of the pillars under the south gallery is interesting. The carved scene on the stone above the second window from the front on the outer side of the north wall should also be noticed. It represents, in a mediæval way, the birth of Krishna, the child and its nurse being shown several times over in the same scene. The two scenes are divided by a half open door and at the end of that towards the west are represented a cow and a calf which produces a strong resemblance to the Sacred Manger scene.—(Fanshaw.)

The Hindus, it may be noticed, still sometime speak of the Kutub Mosque as the Thakurdawara and Chausath Khamba or the "Sixty-Pillared." The other Hindu remains in Old Delhi include the ANANG PAL, the ANANGPUR KUND and the SURAJ KUND, all of which may have been built by Anang Pal.

CHAPTER VII.

KUTUB

2. OLD DELHI—KUTUB. (*Continued.*)

Sultan Mohamed Ghorī who was ruling over Punjab invaded "Old Delhi" in 1193 A.D., and took it after a severe battle. He appointed his slave Kutbuddin Aybeck as his Viceroy of India who after his masters' death founded the Empire of Delhi and became the first Musalman Emperor of India. Kutbuddin built a mosque and a minar in the Old Delhi to proclaim the establishment of Muslim rule in India. The city consequently underwent a complete transformation and came to be thenceforth known simply as "KUTUB."

GENERAL PLAN OF A MOSQUE

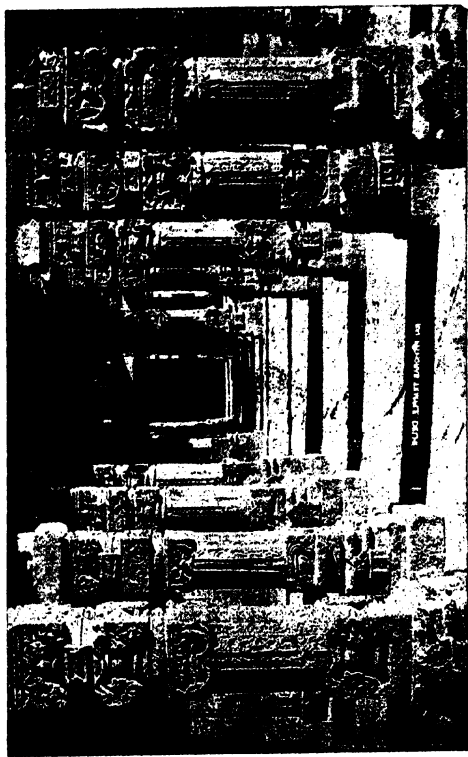
Before we describe the famous Mosque and the Minar let us have an idea of what a Musalman place of worship is like and of the general plan on which mosques are usually constructed. Musalmans are ordained to perform prayers five times a day, before sunrise, at noon, afternoon, after sunset and at night, and they are to do so preferably

in congregation rather than individually. They stand in rows, with sufficient space between two rows to allow stooping and prostrating, and one of them, selected for his knowledge, age and piety, stands in advance of the first row and leads the prayers. They turn their faces towards Kaaba, the holy edifice in Mecca, which is to the west of India. In order that their attention is not detracted a long screen or a wall is put up in front of the worshippers. At an Eedgah where Musalmans of the whole town congregate for prayers on the two days of festival, the mosque consists of only one long wall on the west. The mosque is therefrom an oblong building with the longer side, a dead wall, on the west, the eastern side being an open arcade or colonade which opens on a paved courtyard into which on Fridays or feast days the overflow of the congregation extends. Generally a corridor runs on the three sides of the courtyard to give the whole building an appearance of the buildings that surround Kaaba at Mecca. The principal entrance is in the eastern corridor and if the mosque is in an open place there are gates in the northern and southern sides also. There is a minar or minaret for the Muezzin to cry out *azan*, the call to prayers, from a height. For the sake of symmetry two minars, one at each end of the building, are generally

constructed in India, but in Egypt, Morocco, Tunis and Turkey mosques generally have only one minar. The minars have become distinguishing features of a mosque and dummy solid ones which cannot serve the purpose of *azan* are put up for the mere sake of appearance. Sometimes there are four minars, one at each corner of the building, just as there are seven in the Kaaba corridors to make the call to prayers heard there all over the four quarters of Mecca. An oblong building cannot of course be roofed with one dome and so mosques in India are generally covered with three domes. There is a niche in the centre of the western wall called *mehrab* for the *peshimam* or the leader of prayers to stand in, so that the space that would otherwise remain vacant on his right and left be saved for the other worshippers. To the right of the *mehrab* there is a pulpit often built into the wall, generally consisting of three steps on which the *peshimam* stands and reads out an address on Fridays. There is a *hous* or tank in the court yard for ablutions.

KUTUB MOSQUE.

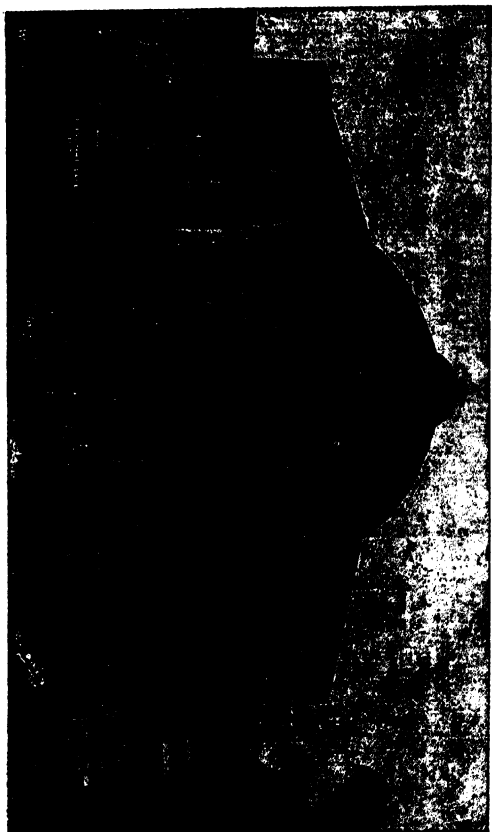
Kutbuddin commenced the construction of the Mosque that now bears his name but which he himself called the Quwat-ul-Islam—"the Might of Islam." He seems to have at first arranged the prayer chamber on the west



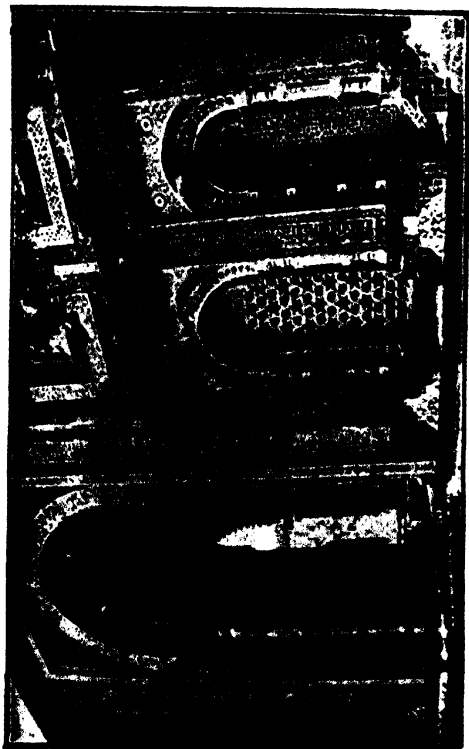
RAI PITHORA'S TEMPLE.



KUTUB QUE.



ALLAUDDIN'S GATE-EXTERIOR



ALLAUDDIN'S GATE—INTERIOR.

and three cloisters on the other sides of the courtyard all with the Jain pillars. The western chamber is 32 feet wide the roof of which was spanned on five rows of pillars, the northern and southern corridors are three pillar deep and the eastern corridor is four pillar deep. The outer rows of pillars in the three corridors are embedded in the enclosing walls. Foundations were laid of the principal western wall, but it was never raised beyond the foundations. Of the pillars which carried the roof of the western chamber two groups of twelve and ten alone remain. There are three gateways, one in each corridor, the central gateway in the eastern corridor being roofed with a dome in the Hindu style. There are three smaller domes, one at each corner of the corridors, but the fourth dome at the south-west end of the corridor has disappeared. This arrangement of Jain pillars in the principal chamber and their corridors made a complete mosque every part of which was in harmony with the other. But Kutbuddin later on in 1197 constructed the range of five arches (150 feet long), "the glory of the mosque," as Fergusson characterises them, as the facade of a new mosque chamber which he must have intended to build behind the arches. The central arch is 22 feet wide and 53 feet high, and the smaller arches are about half

these dimensions. Kutbuddin's son-in-law, Altamish, extended in 1225 the range of the arches by adding three arches in the northern and as many in the southern portion of the arcade which then became 385 feet long. The roof of the mosque chamber would have rested on this arcade and the parallel wall to the west of it for which foundations only were laid. The Jain pillars, some of which still stand on the site of the chamber, which had supported the roof of the temporary chamber, would have been removed by Kutbuddin and Altamish before that space was roofed. This extended mosque chamber required larger enclosure which Sultan Altamish commenced to construct from the south-west corner and carried the colonnade to the point where Alai Darwaza now stands. The colonnade turned the corner at this point and the remains of the eastern corridor are to be seen to the right of the passage leading to the present entrance to Kutbuddin's mosque. The southern and eastern corridors are three and four pillar deep respectively just as are the corridors of the inner enclosure. The latter would no doubt have been removed when the whole mosque as outlined by the outer corridors was completed, forming a quadrangle 385 feet by 280 feet. It is quite possible that pillars were

removed from the original mosque chamber and the southern corridor and used in this outer enclosure. The Kutub Minar which was outside and independent of the Kutbuddin Mosque would have been enclosed in the Altamish Mosque and would have formed its south-east corner minar, cutting a little into the eastern corridor.

Alauddin Khilji extended in 1315 the Mosque still further by carrying the southern corridor of Altamish 175 feet to the east making the Mosque 455 feet long, west to east. He built into this corridor the magnificent gateway known as the Alai Durwaza. Instead of finishing the mosque that was left incomplete by his predecessors he wanted to extend the mosque to twice the width proposed by Altamish. He therefore laid the foundations for the screen of nine arches in continuation of the present range and continued the foundations of the western wall also to some distance. And right in the centre of this new courtyard and in line with the Kutub Minar he commenced the construction of another minar, of twice the dimensions of its prototype. It was, however, carried up to the height of 40 feet only.

Mr. Fergusson writes of the Kutub-Altamish Mosque as follows :—

Nothing could be more brilliant, and at the same time more characteristic, than the commencement of

the architectural career of those Pathans in India. So soon as they felt themselves at all sure of their conquest, they set to work to erect two great mosques in their two principal capitals of Ajmir and Delhi, of such magnificence as should redound to the glory of their religion and mark their triumph over the idolators. A nation of soldiers equipped for conquest, and that only, they had of course brought with them neither artists nor architects, but like all nations of Turanian origin, they had strong architectural instincts, and having a style of their own, they could hardly go wrong in any architectural project they might attempt. At the same time, they found among their new subjects an infinite number of artists quite capable of carrying out any design that might be propounded to them.

The history of this Mosque, Mr. Fergusson proceeds, as told in its construction, is as curious as anything about it. It seems that the Afghan conquerors had a tolerably distinct idea that pointed arches were the true form for architectural openings ; but, being without science sufficient to construct them, they left the Hindu architects and builders whom they employed to follow their own devices as to the mode of carrying out the form. The Hindus up to this time had never built arches—nor, indeed, did they for centuries afterwards. Accordingly they proceeded to make the pointed openings on the same principle upon which they built their domes. They carried them up in horizontal courses as far as they could, and then closed them by long slabs meeting at the top, the construction being, in fact, that of the arch of the aquaduct at Tusculum.

The same architects were employed by their masters to ornament the faces of these arches ; and this they did by copying and repeating the ornaments on the pillars and friezes on the opposite sides of the court, covering the whole with a lace-work of intricate and delicate carving, such as no other mosque except that at Ajmir ever received before or since ; and which—though perhaps in a great measure thrown away when used on such a scale—is without exception, the

most exquisite specimen of its class known to exist anywhere. The stone being particularly hard and good, the carving retains its freshness to the present day, and is only destroyed above the arches, where the faulty Hindu construction has superinduced premature decay.

There is a largeness and grandeur about the plain simple outline of the Mahomedan arches which quite overshadows the smallest parts of the Hindu fanes, and at the same time, the ornamentation, though applied to a greater extent than in any other known examples of surface-decoration as elaborate as this, but hardly anywhere on such a scale. Some parts of the interior Sta. Sophia at Constantinople are as beautiful, but there are only a few square yards. The palace at Meshita, if completed, might have rivalled it, but it is a fragment; and there may be,—certainly were—examples in Persia between the times of Chosroes and Harun-al-Rashid, which may have equalled these, but they have perished, or at least are not known to us now; and even if they ever existed, must have been unlike these mosques. In them we find a curious exemplification of some of the best qualities of the art, as exhibited previously by the Hindus, and practised afterwards by their conquerors.

“The details of the ornamentation deserve prolonged examination by the aid of field-glasses. The bands text in the Tughra character are particularly fine and the graceful effect of them is much enhanced by the tendril pattern with flowers and bud, which is carried up through the lettering. A similar aid in a very different style of decoration is noticeable in the beautiful bands of texts of encaustic tiles upon a ground of sprays and leaves on the lovely Shah-zindah tombs in Samarkand.

“The difference in the decoration of the arches of Kutab-ud-din and Altamsh is considerable in detail, but this is not noticeable at a distance. The stone used in the former was of a much paler color, and the ornamentation of the latter arches does not seem to rise so spontaneously or give so aspiring an effect to

the facade and difference, which is no doubt accentuated by the panels of diaper work between them." (*The city Gazetteer*).

Amir Khusrau in his "Tarikh-i-Alai" writes about the Mosque and its extension by Sultan Alauddin as follows :—

"He (the Emperor) determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid-Jama of Shamsuddin, by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth with lofty pillars.....and upon the surface of the stones he engraved verses of the Koran in such a manner as could not be done even in wax, ascending so high that you would think the Koran was going up to heaven, and again descending in another line so low, you would think it was coming down from heaven. He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minar of the Jama Masjid, which minar was then the sole (unique) one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the Masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islam. He ordered the circumference of the new minar to be made, double that of the old one, and that it should be made higher in the same proportion, and he directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one."

The core of the piers of the arches in the further extension of the screen to the north designed by Ala-ud-din still stands, as do the ruins of the gates to the enlarged courtyard on this side; these gates would no doubt have been somewhat similar to the Alai Darwazah. In the middle of this extension to the north would have risen the Alai Minar of which the stupendous base stands most probably just as the workmen left it on the death of its projector, nearly 600 years ago.

Writing of the Mosque as a whole, Amir Khusrau says :—

“Masjid-i-o Jama feiz-i-Allah ;
Zamzama-i-Khutba-i-o taba mah.”

“The mosque of it is the depository of the grace of God ;

The music of the prayer of it reaches to the sky (moon).”

Ibn Batuta wrote of it :

“Its mosque is very large, and in beauty and extent has no equal. Before the taking of Delhi it had been a Hindu temple. In its court there is a pillar which, they say, is composed of stones from seven quarries.”

The mosque which was repaired by Feroz Shah Tughlak, as was the Kutab Minar, was the scene of a grim massacre by Timur's soldiery. It was immensely admired by that Sultan, who carried off workmen to construct a similar one in Samarkand, which, however, was never built. A bloody slaughter had already taken place inside the mosque in the reign of Altamish, when a body of Karmatian heretics, who had taken refuge there, were exterminated by volleys of stones from the roof of the arcades and mailed horsemen riding up the steps into the enclosure.

ALAI DARWAZAH

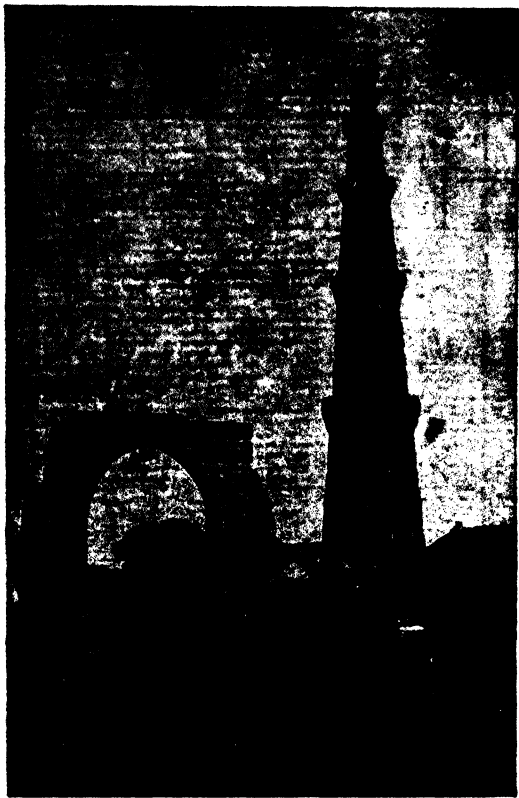
Mr. Fanshawe's brief remarks on this, the southern gate of the mosque are very apposite. He says :—

The Alai Darwazah is not only the most beautiful structure at the Kutab, but is one of the most beautiful

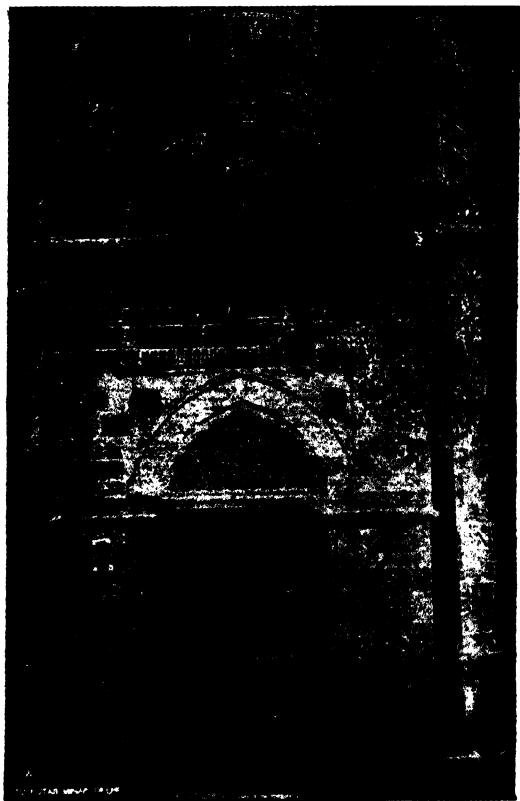
specimens of external polychromatic decoration not merely in India, but in the whole world, while the carving of interior may challenge comparison with any work of the kind. Both exterior and interior merit detailed and leisurely examination. The effect of the graceful pointed arches in the three external sides of the gate, and in the corner recesses, is extremely pleasing, and the view from the exterior through the southern archway to the round-headed arch of the north side, and the courtyard beyond, is very striking. The decoration of the north arch is curious and unique. The effect of exterior suffers, from a distant point of view, from the absence of a parapet above the walls; this was unfortunately removed by Captain Smith, as it was greatly ruined. The gate was finished five years before the emperor died, and is specially mentioned by the chronicler of his reign.

KUTUB MINAR

Kutub Minar is not an ordinary minar attached to a mosque for the muezen to cry out the call to prayers. It is the Tower of Victory raised by the first Musalman Emperor of India to proclaim the establishment of "the Power of Islam" in this country. "The determination of these first Sultans of Delhi to 'make their mark' and to spread the message of Islam and of their own conquering might to the people of Hindustan could scarcely have found clearer expression than it did in the building of the famous minar with its stupendous shaft towering to heaven and its verses glorifying God and the Emperor blazoned around its walls in clear bold lettering for all to see. A fine conception this vast and richly

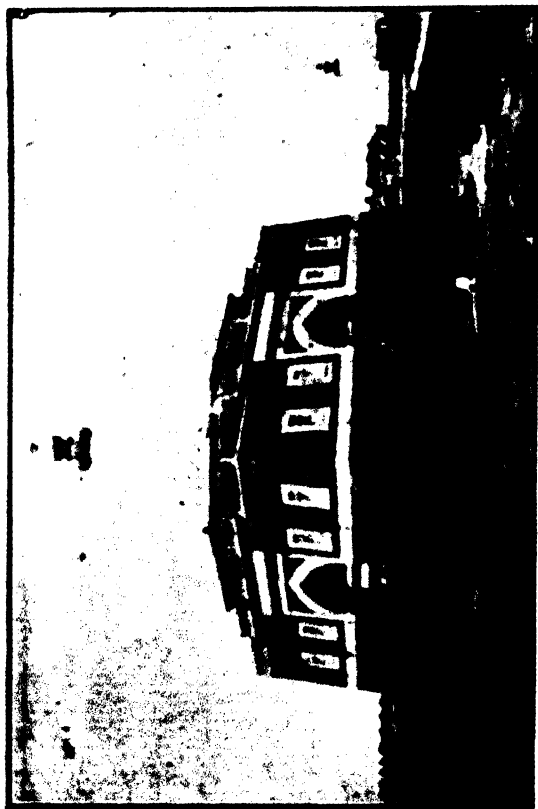


KUTAB MINAR.



KUTAB MINAR—ENTRANCE.

P. 56d.]



chiselled pillar, and he is of dull imagination who cannot picture for himself the character of the man who conceived it."*

"It is probably not too much to assert," says Mr. Fergusson, "that the Kutab Minar is the most beautiful example of its class known to exist anywhere. The rival which will occur at once to most people is the Campanile† at Florence, built by Giotto. This is, it is true, 30 feet taller, but it is crushed by the mass of the Cathedral alongside; and beautiful though it is, it wants that poetry of design and exquisite finish of detail which marks every moulding of the Minar."

When viewed from the court of the Mosque its form is perfect; and, under any aspect, is preferable to the prosaic squareness of the outline of the Italian example. The only Mahomedan building known to be taller than this is the minaret of the mosque of Hassan, at Cairo; but as the pillar at Old Delhi is a wholly independent building, it has far nobler appearance, and both in design and finish far surpasses not only its Egyptian rival, but any building of its class known to me in the whole world."

Mr. Fergusson proceeds to write:—

The Kutub Minar is 48 ft. 4 in. in diameter at the base, and when measured in 1794, was 242 ft. in height. Even then, however, its capital was ruined, so that some 10 feet or perhaps 20 ft. must be added to this to complete its original elevation. It is ornamented by four boldly-projecting balconies; one at 97 ft. the second at 148 ft., the third at 188 ft., and the fourth at 214 ft. from the ground; between which are richly sculptured raised belts containing inscriptions. In the lower storey the projecting ribs which form the

* Mr. Gordon Sanderson in the *Archæological Survey of India Report for 1912-13.*

† The Campanile itself is after the style of the famous tower called Giralada in Seville in Spain built by the Moors in the eleventh century.

flutes are alternately angular and circular ; in the second circular and in the third angular only. Above this the Minar is plain, and principally of white marble with belts of the same red sandstone of which the three lower storeys are composed.

Mr. Fanshawe writes about the Minar as follows :—

It was primarily intended to serve as a minaret to the mosque of that Sultan. The last is clear, not only from almost contemporary record, but also from the text from the Koran, chapter 62—The Assembly—on the second storey : " Oh true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the day of Assembly, listen to the commemoration of God and leave merchandising..... The reward of God is better than any sport or merchandise, and God is the best provider."

The lowest storey contains an inscription bearing the name of the first king of Delhi, and two others containing the name of his master, Muhammad-bin-sam, or Muhammad Ghori ; the second and third and fourth storeys bear bands of inscription with the name of Altamish ; and the fifth storey one relating to a restoration in 1368 A.D. by Firoz Shah, who, no doubt, entirely rebuilt the two topmost storeys of their original materials. On the entrance door to the Minar, which is modern, as is the railing of the first gallery, is an inscription of the year 1503 A.D. recording a restoration by Sikander Shah Lodi, which probably preserved the Minar till 300 years later, when it was thoroughly repaired by the British Government, only just in time apparently, to judge from Major Thorn's narrative of the events of 1803. The value of this restoration must not be lost sight of in the ridicule which has overtaken the officer in charge of the work, a certain Captain Smith, R.E., in connection with the cupola designed by him for the summit, and which still stands in the Kutab grounds. (Colonel Sleeman wrote, not unjustly, of this : " If Captain Smith's storey was anything like the original, the lightning did well to remove it.") One would have

been disposed to believe that the original topmost storey was a simple pavilion borne by four, or possibly eight, arches—very likely flat Hindu arches—but this is not borne out by the drawings of the column in Franklin's book and by Daniell, though Ensign Jas. Blunt, who visited Delhi in 1794, says it was "crowned by a majestic cupola of red granite." It would add greatly to the effect of the column if a suitable cupola could be placed upon it.

TOMB OF ALTAMISH

Immediately behind the north-west corner of the mosque stands the tomb of Altamish, the founder.

Though small, says Mr. Ferguson, it is one of the richest examples of Hindu art applied to Mahomedan purposes that Old Delhi affords, and is extremely beautiful, though the builders still display a certain degree of inaptness in fitting the details to their new purposes. The effect at present is injured by the want of a roof, which, judging from appearance, was never completed, if ever commenced. In addition to the beauty of its details it is interesting as being the oldest tomb known to exist in India. He died A. D 1236.

ALA-UD-DIN KHILJI'S TOMB

This tomb, which was built over a century after the Mahomedan conquest of Delhi, is one of the finest in all Delhi, which may be described to be the city of tombs. Fergusson speaks highly of its workmanship and is of opinion that it "displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection." He observes:—

It was erected by Ala-ud-din Khilji, and the date 1310 is found among its inscriptions. It is therefore

about a century more modern than the other buildings of the place, and displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection, when the Hindu masons have learned to fit their exquisite style of decoration to the forms of their foreign masters. Its walls are decorated internally with a diaper pattern of unrivalled excellence, and the mode in which the square is changed into an octagon is more simply elegant and appropriate than any other example I am acquainted with in India. The pendentives accord perfectly with the pointed openings in the four other faces, and are in every respect appropriately constructive. True, there are defects. For instance, they are too plain for the elaborate diapering which covers the whole of the lower part of the building both internally and externally; but ornament might easily have been added; and their plainness accords with the simplicity of the dome, which is, indeed, by no means worthy of the substructure. Not being pierced with windows, it seems as if the architect assumed that its plainness would not be detected in the gloom that in consequence prevails.

This building, though small—it is only 53 ft. square externally, and with an internal apartment only 34 ft. 6 in. in plan—marks the culminating point of the Pathan style in Delhi. Nothing so complete had been done before, nothing so ornate was attempted by them afterwards. In the previous, wonderful buildings were erected between this period and the Mogul conquest, but in their capital their edifices were more marked by solemn gloom and nakedness than by ornamentation or any of the higher graces of architectural art. Externally it is a good deal damaged, but its effect is still equal to that of any building of its class in India.

BALBAN'S TOMB

About 1,200 yards south of Kutub Minar there is a square building, with massive walls, in which lies Sultan Ghiaz-ud-din Balban,

who died in 1287 A.D. By his side lies his son, Sher Khan, who predeceased him by two years. The long chamber close by it is perhaps the Dar-ul-Aman (Haven of Refuge) referred to by Firoz Shah, who says, he added new sandalwood doors to it and hung curtains and hangings over the tombs.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIRI-JAHANPANAHA

In order to protect Delhi from the ravages of the Mongols, Sultan Alauddin fortified a camp at *Siri* in 1299 which place afterwards became "New Delhi" and was joined to old Delhi by the defences called "**JAHANPANAHA**." "*Siri* or New Delhi" was also called *Darul Khilafat* or "Seat of the Califate."

Timur in his Memoirs says:—

"*Siri* is a round city. Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications built of stone and brick, and they are very strong."

"From the fort of *Siri* to that of old Delhi, which is a considerable distance," says Timur,

"there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called *Jahanpanah* is situated in the midst of the inhabited city. The fortifications of the three cities (Old Delhi, *Siri* and *Tughlakabad*) have thirty gates. *Jahanpanah* has thirteen gates, *Siri* has seven gates. The fortifications of the Old Delhi have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city.

Ibn Batuta, the famous traveller, writes that

"It was Muhammad Shah's intention to connect all these four cities (Old Delhi, Siri, Jahanpanah and Tughlakabad) together by one and the same wall. He raised a portion of it, but abandoned its completion in consequence of the enormous expense its erection would have entailed. The wall which surrounds Delhi has no equal. It is eleven cubits thick. Chambers are constructed in it which are occupied by the night watch and persons charged with the care of the gates. . . . Horse and foot can pass inside this wall from one end of the city to the other. Windows to give light have been opened in it on the inside towards the city. The lower part of the wall is built of stone, the upper part of brick. The bastions are numerous and closely placed. The city of Delhi has twenty-eight gates."

CHAPTER IX.

TUGHLAKABAD

The city and fort known as TUGHLAKABAD were built by Muhammad Tughlak Shah between the years 1321 and 1323 A. D. It is situated about nine miles almost due south of Delhi. A recent writer observes :—

“Of all the Moslem fortresses in India, that of Tughlakabad was the greatest. Its stupendous size, solidity, and massive strength give it an air of impressive dignity rarely paralleled. These were the vast ruins which called forth Bishop Heber's oft-quoted remark, that the Patans built like giants and finished their work like jewellers. . . . The splendid Masolium known as Tughlak's tomb adjoins the fort and standing in the midst of an artificial lake, surrounded by the bold towers of the fortifications, in the stern beauty of its strength, it forms an ideal tomb for a warrior race.”

Muhammad Tughlak gave up the city in favour of Daulatabad and though again re-peopled, it was finally abandoned on the founding of Firozabad. Tradition states that its destruction was due to the curse (*Become the home of the Gujar or be abandoned*) of Nizam-ud-din Awlia, in accordance with which the city, it is said, has been long deserted and is the habitation of a couple of

Gujar villages. The real cause of its permanent abandonment is said to be the badness of its water and the insalubrity of its site.

THE FORT

Mr. Fanshawe writes about the Fort of Tughlakabad as follows:—

The great size of the stones used in the wall, the triple storeyed towers, the high parapet, backed inside by terraces with rooms and the lofty gates, are all very imposing. Perhaps the most impressive bit of all is the south-east bastion of the citadel and the east wall above it. The path through the gate above-mentioned leads past a large reservoir hewn in the rock; beyond it to the north-west are ruins of the palace and stables and of a fine mosque. From the tank the track ascends to an outwork below the principal gate of the citadel, which must have been very fine and strong portal, and then winds through ruins to the highest point of all, upon which some royal building no doubt stood. Below this, on the west was a very deep (baoli) tank for the use of the defenders of the citadel, and all round are underground passages, off which the servants and slaves of the king had quarters. An extremely fine view to the north is obtained from the top of the citadel—on clear days it includes the domes of the Jama Masjid of Delhi—and to the east are seen many blue curves of the Jumna stream.

The red sandstone gateway, with its sloping face and jambs and head in the earlier Pathan style, contrasts finely with the dark walls and rounded towers in which it stands, and the trees which overshadow it. The interior of the fortress is much smaller than one would suppose from the outside, and except

for the pointed corner to the east, is almost filled, by the tomb.

TUGHLAK'S TOMB

The tomb of Tughlak Shah rising above the fortress walls which surround it, is perhaps one of the most picturesque buildings in Delhi; and when it stood reflected on all sides in the lake below, it must have presented a spectacle of unusual beauty. It is impossible to improve on Mr. Fergusson's description of it :

When the stern old warrior, Tughlak Shah, founded the new Delhi, which still bears his name, he built a tomb, not in a garden, as was usually the case, but in a strongly fortified citadel in the middle of an artificial lake. The sloping walls of almost Egyptian solidity of this mausoleum, combined with the bold and massive towers of the fortifications that surround it, form a picture of a warrior's tomb unrivalled anywhere, and a singular contrast with the elegant and luxuriant garden tombs of the more settled and peaceful dynasties that succeeded.

This is the earliest building of which the walls have a very decided slope. They are of red sandstone, relieved in the upper portion by a very sparing use of white marble. The marble slabs of the dome are not well fitted. This may be due to the fact that the dome was the first attempt of its kind in India. The interior of the tomb, which is rather larger than that of the Sultan Balban, is very plain, but decidedly

effective. It contains three graves, the centre one being that of his son, the Khuni Sultan, at the head of which Firoz Shah placed the propitiatory chest. In the north-west corner of the enclosure is a small tomb-chamber, with an arcade round it, containing a number of graves.

CHAPTER X.

FIROZABAD.

The city of FIROZABAD was built by Feroz Shah Tughlak in the year 1360. It extended as far west as Kalan Masjid now enclosed by the walls of Shahjahanabad, and probably spread two miles north and south. The Chronicle says that it reached from Kasbah Indrapat to Kushk-i-Shikar on the Ridge and was thus a larger city than its later rival. It was originally part of the area surrounding

SULTAN RAZIYA'S TOMB

which stands not far away to its east, at the point where the Sitaram Bazaar ends, unnamed and undated. Popular tradition says that the larger of the two graves here enclosed in this isolated spot, marks her grave—the grave of the first Empress of India. The streets of Firozabad witnessed some of the most desperate fighting known in the annals of the city, soon after the death of Firoz Shah.

THE KOTILA

or citadel was built about 1350-70 on the banks of the Jumna, the lofty ruins of which are seen immediately adjoining the Lat.



FEROZ SHAH'S PILLAR



KALAN MUSJID,

ASOKA'S LAT

The Lat is one of the two stone pillars of Asoka (300 B. C.) removed from Topra, seven miles south-west of Jagadhri, in the Umballa district, and erected by Firoz Shah on this spot; the other pillar is planted on the Ridge.

The height of the pillar, above the platform, is thirty-seven feet, the circumference at the base being nine and one-third feet, and at the top six and a half feet. The four inscriptions of Asoka are wonderfully sharp and clear; they are among the oldest existing records of India, dating from the third century before the Christian era. Added to them, in much modern characters, is a double inscription, one, two and a half feet above, and one just below the Buddhist record of the Chauhan Prince Visala Deva and of the date of 1164 A.D.

The following interesting account of how the pillar was removed is taken from the chronicles of his reign by Zia-ud-din-Barni:—

“After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the Simbal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its

was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds, and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultan came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 maunds of grain, and the least of them 2,000 maunds. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Firozabad, where it was landed and conveyed into the Kushk with infinite labour and skill.

"At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Mir Khan. When the pillar was brought to the palace, a building was commenced for its reception near the Jamma Musjid, and the most skilful architects and workmen were employed. It was constructed of stone and *chunam* (mortar), and consisted of several stages. When a stage was finished, the column was raised on to it, another stage was then built, and the pillar was again raised, and soon in succession until it reached the intended height. On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other end passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a *gaz*. Logs of wood

and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent it from sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as supports until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its capital, and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola called in Hindi *Kalas*. The height of obelisk was thirty-two gaz: eight gaz were sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four gaz were visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing in Hindi characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them, stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan king, named Sultan Firoz."

JAMA MASJID

This mosque which must have been a fine structure in its former state was built by Firoz Shah. Mr. Fanshawe thus describes it:—Like other mosques of the same date it consisted of arcades of several rows of arches round an open central court; on the edges of this the large slabs on which the outer double columns of the arcades rested can still be seen. In the centre of the open quadrangle was a sunken octagonal structure, perhaps somewhat like the mausoleum of Sultan Ghari round which the record of the reign of Firoz Shah, and, in particular, of the public works execu-

ted by him, was engraved. The mosque was visited by Sultan Timur on the last day of 1398, for the purpose of devotions on his way from carnage and rapine in Old Delhi. In the mosque, or in the buildings adjoining it, was murdered the Emperor Alamgir II in 1761, having been enticed to his fate by the report of the residence on the spot of a peculiarly holy fakir.

CHOUSATH KHAMBA

The most notable building in Firozabad is the picturesque mosque known as the Chousath Khamha or "Sixtyfour Pillared."

KALAN MASJID

Mention should also be made here of the Kalan Musjid situated in a part of Firozabad where that city is overlapped by the present Shahjahanabad and therefore that mosque is now within the walls of the latter a little to the south-west of the great Jama Musjid. It was built in 1380 by Khan Jahan, Wazir of Firoz Shah, and was the chief mosque of Feroz Shah's time.

KADAM SHARIF

Just outside the city of Ferozabad is the Dargah of Kadam Sharif or "The Holy Footprint" where lies buried in a beautiful building (1375) Firoz Shah's eldest son Fatah Khan, over whose grave in a trough

of water is the sacred imprint sent by the Khalifa, of Baghdad to Firoz Shah, (hence the name *Holy Footprint*) The fine

IDGAH

to the north-west of it, past the ridge, is well worth visiting too.

KUSHK-I-SHIKAR

Besides the above buildings Sultan Feroz built his KUSHK-I-SHIKAR or "the Hunting Pavilion" on the Ridge on the north of the modern Shahjahanabad. It is also known as Jahannumah or the World Displayer and came to be built under the following circumstances narrated by the chronicler of the times:—

In the year 774 H.—1373 A. D.—the Wazir Malik Mukbul, entitled Khan Jahan, died, and his eldest son, Juna Shah, succeeded to his office and titles. During the year 776 H., on the 12th of Safar, the king was plunged into affliction by the death of his favourite son, Fatha Khan, a prince of great promise, and the back of his strength was bent by the burden of grief. Finding no remedy, except in patience and resignation, he buried him in his own garden (now the Kadam Sharif) and performed the customary ceremonies upon the occasion. On account of the excess of his grief, the shadow of his regard was withdrawn from cares of State, and he abandoned himself entirely to his sorrows. His nobles and counsellors placed their heads on the ground, and represented that there was no course left but to submit to the Divine will, and that he should not show further repugnance to administer the affairs of his kingdom. The wise king acceded to the supplications of his friends and well-wishers, and, in order to dispel his sorrows, devoted himself to sport, and in the vicinity of new

Delhi, he built a wall of two or three farasangs in circumference, planted within the enclosure shady trees, and converted it into a hunting park. The ruins of it remain to this day.

Mr. Finch, in the memoirs of his travels as far as Lahore, specially mentions this site in the following terms :—

A little beyond Delhi are the relics of a stately hunting house built by an ancient Indian king, which has great curiosities of stone work about it. Amongst the rest there is a pillar all of one entire stone, some 24 feet high, and as many underground (as the Indians say) having a globe and half moon at top, and diverse inscriptions upon it. This according to the tradition of the country a certain Indian King would have taken up and removed, but was prevented in his design by the multitude of scorpions that infested the workmen.

CHAPTER XI

THE CITY OF SHERSHAH

In the short period, between the time he defeated Humayun at "the battle of the Ganges" in 1539 and he was himself killed at the siege of Kalinjar in 1545 the Afghan Governor of Bengal, Sher Shah, who became the Emperor of Delhi, had time to build his own city.

THE LAL DARWAZAH

The handsome gateway known as Lal Darwazah or the Red Gate at the back of the Jail a mile from the Delhi Gate of Shahjahanabad was undoubtedly the north gate of the City of Sher Shah (1540 A. D.) There is a corresponding gate on the south side, opposite the south west corner of the Purana Kila. The latter, however, can hardly have been in the actual southern wall of the city, having regard to its position in relation to the citadel, and was probably the entrance to some royal bazaar under the citadel called

PURANA KILA

Or the Old Fort. It was Humayun who commenced to construct this fortress before he was deposed by Sher Shah and Sher Shah completed it. The lofty south gate of the fort is an imposing piece of architecture, the decoration of which is simple and pleasing. There are two buildings of note within the fort.

SHER SHAH MOSQUE

This Mosque is architecturally interesting on account of the fact that it belongs to that particular style, designated the "Late Pathan," which forms the connecting link between the "Pathan" and the Mughal "styles." "A greater contrast is hardly imaginable than the mosques of Firoz Shah (1351-88) at Begampura, Khirki and Delhi city (Ka'ba Masjid) on the one hand, and the Moth-ki-musjid (1488) near Mubarakpur, the Jamali Masjid (1536) at Mahrauli, and the Qila-i-Kuhna Masjid (Sher Shah Mosque—1541) on the other. The former are characterised by sloping buttressed walls and very flat domes, and give the appearance of uncouth masses of stone without elegance of line or variety of colour, suggesting by their stern and gloomy aspect the idea of a mediæval stronghold. The mosques of the 'Late Pathan' period,

PURANA KILA.



SHER SHAH'S MOSQUE,

on the contrary, are generally distinguished by a profusion of decoration and richness of colour, vying in their splendour with some of the master-pieces of Mughal art ... Historically this building might almost be said to belong to the Mughal period, and indeed shows a far greater affinity to the early Mughal style, as exhibited in the Khairul-Manazil (1561) of Akbar's reign, than to the stern and severe structures of the previous period."*

"The facade of the Mosque of Sher Shah," writes Mr. Fanshawe, "is quite the most striking bit of coloured decoration at Delhi, and has been satisfactorily restored. The red sandstone used in it is of an unusually deep tone, and very beautiful. The brackets under the balconies are an early type of those which are so marked in the red sandstone palace of Akbar or Jehangir in the Agra Fort. The interior is extremely fine, the patterns in the pendentives below the dome being very effective.

SHER MANDAL

The Sher Mandal is an octagonal two-storeyed building. It was from the steps of this building that the Emperor Humayun slipped when coming down after evening prayer, and met with his death in 1556 A.D. The date of his death is embodied in the anagram: "Humayun Badshah az bam uftad" ("King Humayun fell from the roof"), but this does not really give the exact date.

* Mr. J. Ph. Vogel in the Archaeological Survey of India Report for 1902-03.

CHAPTER XII

GENERAL SURVEY

In the previous chapters we have given the description of the six old cities of Delhi beginning, in the chronological order, with Indraprastha and ending with the City of Sher Shah which was the last city to be built (1539-1545) before Shahjahanabad, the modern city, was founded in 1638. Emperor Humayun lived in the Purana Kila of Sher Shah, Akbar made Agra his capital, Jahangir built his palace in Lahore, but Shah Jahan after building the palace in Agra made Delhi again his residence and founded the city of Shahjahanabad. We have described such objects of interest in the six cities as belong to the period in which each city was founded but there are other objects spread all over the sites which must also be mentioned before the account of the old cities, now only Shahr-i-Khamoshan, "the Cities of the Dead," can be closed. We, therefore, propose in this chapter to make a general survey of the whole area covered by these monuments.

We start from the Delhi Gate in the southern city wall of Shahjahanabad and passing through mounds of old ruins we reach the Kotila or citadel of FIROZABAD. Here are to be seen the Lat, Jama Musjid, Lal Darwazah, and Chousath Khamba Mosque described in the tenth chapter.

FARID KHAN'S CARAVANSARAI

It is now a Jail, though originally built by Farid Khan, a former Governor of the Punjab, and an adherent of Jahangir, as a Sarai. He also built Faridabad, the prosperous little town on the ancient site of Tilpat, 12 miles south of Delhi, and restored Salimgarh and according to one authority built the bridge to it. He lies buried in the cemetery at Sarai-shahjir, about 400 yds. east of the Begampur Mosque.

MAHABAT KHAN'S MOSQUE

A fine mosque and ruined palace built by Mahabat Khan, a bold Rajput soldier who turned a pious Moslem. He rests in the Karbala, to the south-east of Safdar Jang's tomb.

On leaving Firozabad the extremely picturesque walls of the PURANA KILA come into full view. The road turns to the left and leads to the bridge in front of the south gateway of the fortress. Opposite the point of junction of the two roads is a fine

enclosure with a handsome portal of red sandstone, and a large mosque known as the

KHAIR-UL-MANAZIL

(the Auspicious of Houses) or Lal Chouk (Red Square.) This was built in 1561 by Maham Anagah, the foster mother of the Emperor Akbar and mother of Adham Khan. From this mosque a few years later an attempt was made to assassinate Akbar.

The PURANA KILLA is constructed on the site of the historical Indrapat. In it are to be seen the Mosque of Sher Shah and Sher Mandal described in the eleventh chapter.

Proceeding down the road from the Purana Kila towards Humayun's Tomb you see on the left a lofty KOS MINAR or mile stone and further on on the right a picturesque tomb known as the

LAL BANGALA

built by Emperor Shah Alam II (1759-1806) for his mother. Again on the left is seen an octagonal tomb, called the

NILI CHHATRI

or Blue Dome, on account of the fine encaustic work with which it was once covered. It is the tomb of Naubat Khan, an Amir of the Court of Akbar (1556-1605). At a point on the road three and a quarter miles from Delhi Gate there is a fine tomb called

SABZ. POSH

or the "Green Covered." From here one road goes to the Dargah of Nizamuddin Aulia and another leads on the left to the Mausoleum of Humayun.

HUMAYUN'S MAUSOLEUM

Of this, Mr. Fanshawe writes with just admiration as follows:—

In mere beauty it cannot of course compare with the Taj, but there is an effect of strength about it which becomes the last resting place of a Moghul warrior whose life was marked by many struggles and vicissitudes, and most people will probably prefer its greater simplicity to either the son's tomb at Sikandra, near Agra, or the grandson's tomb at Shahdara, near Lahore. The ground plan of the tomb is peculiar, as the angles project beyond the central bay on each side, and the freer use of white marble on them adds to the prominence of their position. The decoration of white and grey marble and of fawn-coloured stone on the red sandstone is very effective, and the pierced marble screens in the openings to the interior are among the very finest specimens of this work. The railing on the edge of the platform has recently been restored all round it, much to the improvement of the general effect.

The interior is entered from the south side, and the actual vault can also be visited from the lower terrace on this side. The central chamber, which is a very fine and lofty one, contains only the marble tomb of the Emperor. His faithful wife, known as Haji Begam, who built the tomb and Arab Sarai, is buried in the north-east corner of the building. The other corner rooms also contain graves, which are nameless, but are known to include those of the unfortunate Dara Shekoh, of two of the brothers of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah who fought against him for the Empire, and three sons of these, and of the Emperors Jahandar

Shah and Alamgir II. (d. 1712 and 1761 A.D.) The Emperor Jehangir records in his memoirs that while in pursuit of his son, Prince Khusru, he visited the tomb of his grandfather and distributed alms at it and at the tomb of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, to which also he went.

On the top of the building round the drum below the dome, are a number of rooms and pavilions, once occupied by a college attached to the mausoleum. The view from the top is extremely fine, and includes nearly everything of interest round Delhi, except Tughlakabad, hid by rising ground to the south. The fine mass of trees on the further bank of the river marks Patparganj and the site of the battlefield of Delhi in 1803.

In the south-east corner of the garden is a nameless picturesque tomb of red sandstone, with some beautiful pierced grilles in the windows, and outside, in the same direction, is

THE NILI BURJI

This tomb with its beautiful dark blue dome, is that of Fahim Khan, and was, it is believed, erected to his memory about 1625 A.D., by the Khan-i-Khanan in whose cause he fought.

Outside the north-east corner of the garden of Humayun's tomb are the remains of a house and a mosque in the severe middle Pathan style, which, according to creditable tradition, formed the RESIDENCE OF SHEIKH NIZAM-UD-DIN-AULIA.

ISA KHAN'S TOMB AND MOSQUE

are close to Humayun's Mausoleum. The Mosque is named after a noble of Sher Shah's time who was buried here in 1547 A.D. It was at one time profusely decorated with encaustic tiles. The octagonal tomb, with its raised outer gallery and pavilions round the dome, has been much admired.

We shall now return to the Grand Trunk road. Half a mile south from this point of junction of the trunk road is

THE TOMB OF KHAN-E-KHANAN

son of the great Turk noble Bairam Khan, who won back the Mughul Empire for Humayun at Sirhind and for Akbar at Panipat, and rebelled against the latter. This tomb is also seen from the top of Humayun's mausoleum. It must once have been an extremely beautiful structure, but it was stripped of most of its marble by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Asaf-ud-daulah, and is now only a grand ruin of red sandstone. The centre bays of the sides are particularly fine. Khan Khanan himself was Governor of Gujarat and the Punjab, and fought one of the most desperate battles waged with the Bijapur power.

A few hundred yards beyond these is the old Mughul bridge, known as the

BARAH PALAH

or Twelve Arched, which is decidedly picturesque, as viewed from down stream, and well deserves a visit. We shall again come back to the junction of the roads, take the cross road on the left and proceed towards the Tomb of Sudar Jang. On our left is the

SHRINE OF NIZAMUDDIN AULIA

As there are several objects of interest there and the locality has an importance of its own we shall devote the next chapter entirely to it. In the meanwhile we shall visit other tombs and mosques in the neighbourhood.

North of the Dargah are a number of buildings of the severe middle Pathan type, including one on the left of the side road to it, known as

THE BARAH KHAMBA

or Twelve Pillared which seems to have been a tombchamber with arcades round it and may have been the original of the Chausath Khamba, and another behind it of red sandstone, known as

THE LAL MAHAL

or Red Palace. This was once a pretty pavilion of the earlier Pathan style (very possibly it was a building of Alauddin for royal accommodation when the court visited the saint), and, with the interior

of the mosque of the Dargah, links that style to the buildings of severer mould on this site. Among these again at the south east corner of the village is a fine Mosque known as

THE SANJAR MUSJID

which once had four courts like that of Khirki each measuring forty-three by thirty-three feet. These are larger than the Khirki quadrangles, but the arcades between the courts being much narrower than these, the total area covered is considerably less than in the case of the more southern example. It was built by Khan Jahan in 1372 A.D., and is well deserving of a visit. To the east of the mosque is a fine tomb also of the middle Pathan period known locally as that of

THE TELANGA NAWAB

The first Khan Jahan was originally a Hindu follower of the Telangana or Warangal chief who was brought to Delhi after his capture and this tomb is no doubt connected with the latter or some descendant of his.

Further on before reaching the tomb of Safdar Jang, the road passes the village of

KHAIRPUR

half a mile away on the right. There are four buildings of note in this village. The TOMB

OF MUHAMMAD SHAH, third of the Sayad kings (died 1445), consists of an octagonal apartment surrounded by a verandah, each face being ornamented by three arches of the stilted pointed forms generally adopted by the Pathans. It is supported at each corner by a sloping buttress pier. The dome is supported on a high neck surrounded by eight cupolas. The decoration of the interior of the dome must once have been unusually beautiful. In the village itself, 200 yards further north, is a striking mosque approached through a very fine gateway, which, from a distance, looks like a tomb. The interior of the gateway reached by a high flight of steps is singularly well proportioned and lofty, and was evidently modelled upon the Alai Darwazah. Beyond the gateway is an extremely picturesque courtyard, with a mosque on one side and an assembly hall on the other, bearing the date of 1498 A. D. This mosque was once entirely covered by the most beautiful plaster decoration, and still retains much of this. The plaster was relieved by colour in the form of patterns of encaustic tiles, and is quite the most beautiful specimen of this class of ornamentation that exists in India. On the north outskirts of the village is a second tomb without name, on which some tile-work of very bright blue may still be seen: and 400 yards beyond it again is the TOMB OF

SIKANDER SHAH LODI, who died in 1517, only nine years before the Moghul conquest of India. This tomb is strikingly situated in a walled enclosure which stands on the banks of a deep depression, spanned by a bridge of seven arches carrying the highroad that then connected Firozabad on the north with Siri and Old Delhi. The tomb itself is a fine building but the situation of it is the most pleasing thing connected with it. The pillar which bears the lamp at the head of the grave was once a column of a Jain temple.

The cross road by which we have come from Humayun's Tomb now ends, at right angle, into another main road from Delhi to Kutub. Here is

THE MAUSOLEUM OF SAFDAR JANG

Here is buried Nawab Safdar Jang, the nephew and successor of the first Nawab Wazir of Oudh.—(1739-54.)

"It looks grand and imposing at a distance. It stands in a large garden and is raised on a terrace 10 feet high and 110 feet square, over arched cells. The tomb in the general arrangements of the plan is not unlike that of Humayun. The floor and lower portion of the walls are faced with marble and it is roofed by a flattish dome. Round the central apartment are four square and four octagonal rooms on the ground floor with the like arrangement above. "If the decoration of the corner towers," writes Mr. Fanshawe, "is not successful, the combination of white marble and fawn colored sandstone in the centre is pleasing."

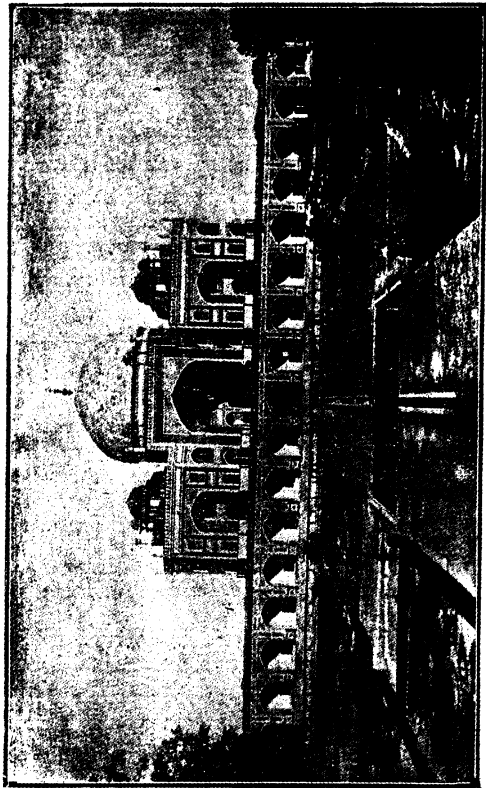
On our way back to Shahjahanabad we pass the OBSERVATORY OF RAJAH JAI SINGH OF JAIPUR commonly known as JANTAR MANTAR.

It was built in 1724 by Raja Tai Singh of Jeypur, who had his palace and stables at Madhoganj, a village to the east of the Observatory which is still held in Jaghir by the Jeypur Rajas. It was badly damaged by the Jats within half a century of its erection and the only things of interest in it now are the great equatorial dial, and the two round buildings with tiers of arches looking like Roman Amphitheatre which were apparently used for the measurement of the ascension and declension of the stars. About 500 yards from the Observatory is the reservoir well, called Uger Sen's Baoli.

Just outside the Ajmere Gate is the MAUSOLEUM AND

COLLEGE OF GHAZIUDDIN KHAN
Mr. Fanshawe says :—

One of the few specimens of a religious endowment, similar to those of the middle ages in Europe, comprising a place of worship, the tomb of the founder, and a residence and a place of instruction of those who were to have charge of both, all built in his lifetime. Ghazi-ud-din was the son of the first Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad. He became the leading noble of the Delhi Court when his father returned to the Deccan after the events of 1739, and died in 1752 A.D.. on his way to assert his succession to the Hyderabad Territories. The courtyard, approached through a

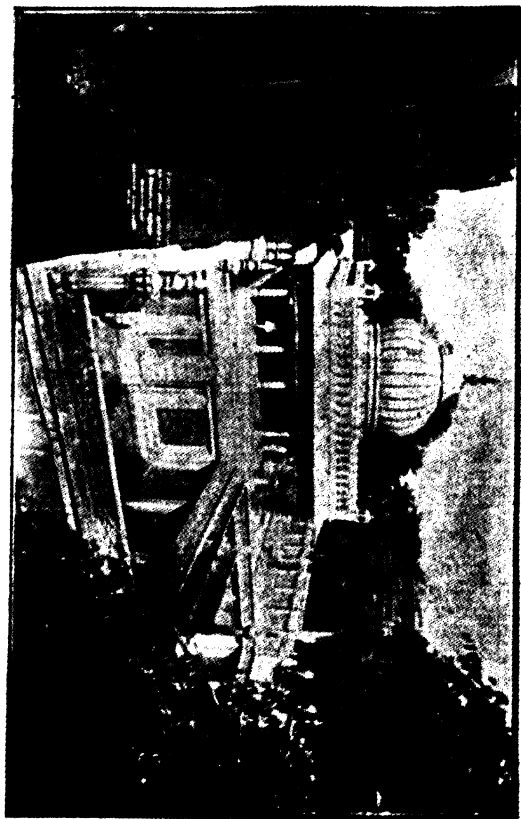


HUMAYUN'S MAUSOLEUM

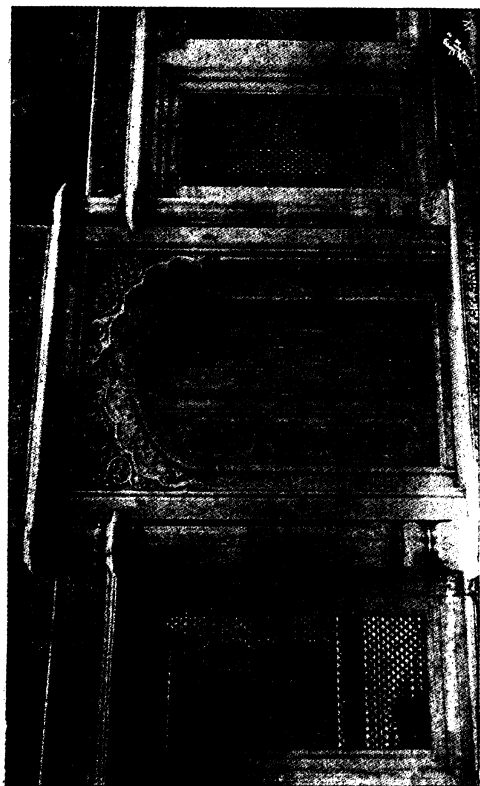
P. 88b.1



SAFDAR JUNG'S TOMR



DARGAH NIZAMUDDIN.



MOHAMMED SHAH'S TOMB.

gateway of which the wings are thrown forward, is surrounded on three sides by a double tier of chambers for students, like the colleges of Samarkand and Bokhara : on the west side of the mosque built of very deep coloured red sandstone, and with a very rounded dome, fills the centre, and the south of it is the grave of the founder, enclosed by a beautiful pierced screen of fawn-coloured stone, with doors elaborately carved with flowers. This corner is, perhaps, quite one of the most picturesque bits in Delhi. For a long time the building, which had been closed eighty years after the founder's death for want of funds, was occupied by the police : it is now again devoted to educational purposes in connection with the **Anglo-Arabic School.**

CHAPTER XIII

DARGAH NIZAMUDDIN.

THE WESTMINSTER ABBEY OF DELHI

Here lived and died one of the four great saints of Islam whom Muhammadans all over India pay high reverence. Nizamuddin Aulia was the last of the four, and was successor to Shekh Fariduddin of Pakpattan, the other two saints of the same Chistia order have their shrines at the Kutub and Ajmere. Nizamuddin settled at Delhi in the time of Emperor Balban and died in 1324 at the age of ninety-two. The Saint was as much known for his learning as for his piety. Abul Fazal says that on account of his great powers of debate he was called al-Bahhas, the Controversialist, and Mahfilshikan, the Confounder of Assemblies.

Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316) was a devotee of the Saint and perhaps he built for the use of the Saint the mosque known as

JAMAT KHANA MUSJID

Mr. Fanshawe writes about this mosque as follows :—

The **Jamat Khana Mosque**, known also as the **Khizri Mosque**, is an extremely fine building of the ornate earlier Pathan style. It cannot have been the work of the Emperor **Firoz Shah**, who, however, restored it, and may have rebuilt the side rooms; and though called after **Kbizr Khan**, the son of **Ala-ud-din Khilji**, it seems probable that it was begun at least by the latter, as the centre bay more closely resembles the **Alai Darwazah** of that monarch than any other building in Old Delhi, and the son was murdered within a year of the death of his father. The front arches, with their heavily engrailed curves, are particularly handsome and effective, and the carved work of the kiblah niche is unusually elaborate and beautiful. The fine timber doors and the Hindu heads of the doorways also deserve special notice. The golden cup hanging from the dome of the central chamber is said to be the one originally suspended there.

The Saint was not on good terms with **Muhammad Tughlak Shah** the founder of **Tughlakabad** with whom he had many a quarrel. He pronounced a curse on his city that it would either be inhabited by **Gujar** or would become *ujar* (desolate). Still the fine tank or *baoli* called

CHASHMA-I-DILKUSHA

or "the Heart-alluring Spring," appears to have its embankment built up by **Tughlak Shah**. An archway now in the water on the east side of the *baoli* is said to conduct to a cell once occupied by the saint.

CHABUTRA-I-YARANI

is the platform where the friends of **Nizam-uddin** used to sit with him in his lifetime and

was therefore called "the Seat of the Friends." One of the devoted friends of the saint was Amir Khusru the renowned poet to whom the celebrated Sadi of Shiraz had sent a copy of his works as a token of his regard. The poet died soon after the Saint in 1324 whom he refused to survive.

AMIR KHUSRU'S TOMB

is situated near the "Chabutra-i-Yarani." The present tomb dates from early seventeenth century. The main chamber is surrounded by two galleries and so only subdued light reaches the grave. The two titles of the poet engraved on his tombstone give the date of his death; they are Tuti-i-Shakar-Makal (Sugar-Tongued Bird) and Adeem-ul-Misal (the Peerless).

THE DARGAH

or the Mausoleum over the grave of the Saint Nizamuddin has been rebuilt and restored many a time by the pious donors and therefore there is but little ancient work in it.

A wide verandah runs round the exterior, and light is admitted to the grave chamber by pierced marble screens in the inner walls of this. This ceiling of the verandah was restored at the expense of the late Mr. R. Clarke, B.C.S. Round the grave, which is always covered, is a low railing of marble, and above it is a canopy of wood, inlaid with mother-o'-pearl. Two inscriptions on the tomb describe it as the "Kiblahgah-i-khas-o-am," or the "Place of prayer" to which all, great and small, turn, and the "Kubba-i-Shekh," or the "Dome of the Saint."

The main gate, which bears the date of 1378, as well as the inner gate beyond the tank were built by Firoz Shah Tughlak. The third gate near the tank is however of much later date. Behind this gate is the

ASSEMBLY HALL

said to have been built by Emperor Aurangzeb.

This Dargah is the Westminster Abbey of Delhi. Owing to its sanctity, many a prince and princess, nobles and warriors, poets and learned men, were anxious to be laid to eternal rest at the foot of the saint's tomb.

On either side within the entrance is an old Pathan tomb and by that, on the right, is a

MOSQUE OF TWO STOREYS

are arrangement; south of it again is the marble pavilion and grave of Bai Kohal De, a *prima donna* of the Emperor Shah Jahan, and behind that is an old cupola borne by red sandstone pillars. The gravestone of this lady is a very beautiful one, and should be visited from the gallery at the south end of the tank, to which the paved way, picturesquely covered in at the end, leads along the east side. The inner and third gate beyond that of Firoz Shah on the south side of the tank, leads to the actual enclosure of the Dargah. Beyond it is an extremely fine "imli," or tamarind tree, affording a beautiful shade, and at the side of it is an octagonal marble receptacle, filled with sweets and milk on special occasions, like great cooking pots at the Ajmir shrine. In the angle behind this gate on the right is The Meeting Hall. In front of the gate and in the middle of the centre court is the tomb of the saint, with the Jamat Khana, or mosque, to the west of it.

GRAVE OF JAHANARA BEGAM

South of the tomb of the Shekh come the graves of many persons of note, and amongst them not a few of royal blood, resting as close as possible to his holy influence. Next to the mosque in the front row is a marble enclosure with the grave of Jahanara Begam, daughter of Shah Jehan and companion of his captivity, which she survived sixteen years, outliving her rival sister Roshanara Begam by ten. The grave consists of a marble block hollowed out so as to form a receptacle for earth in which grass is planted: at the north side stands a handsome headstone, with verses supposed to have been written by the Princess: "Let green grass only conceal my grave: grass is the best covering of the grave of the meek." On either side of her are buried the son and daughter of two of the late Moghul Kings—doubtless because the cost of a separate place of burial for them was not forthcoming. In the next enclosure on the east lies the

TOMB OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

(d. 1748), the unhappy Emperor who saw the capture of Delhi by Nadir Shah, and near the fallen head of her house lies the Moghul princess who was married to Nadir Shah's son, and her baby. The entrance to this enclosure and to that opposite on the further side of the passage is decorated with marble doors, on which extremely beautiful patterns of flowers and leaves have been carved. The execution of these is well worthy of notice, as are the beautiful pierced marble screens in the walls of the enclosures. The third contains

THE GRAVE OF PRINCE JEHANGIR

son of the King Akbar II ; it was under completion when Bishop Heber visited the Dargah. The people of Delhi say that the real cause of the prince's removal to Allahabad was that he actually fired at the British Resident, Mr. Seton, in the King's palace, the ball passing through that gentleman's hat.

Yet another gateway leads from the central court to the well-shaded quadrangle on the south which contains the **Chabutra Yarani** and the **TOMB OF THE POET KHUSRU**, as well as many other graves, among them several of the actual disciples of the saint.

The well-known historian, Khondamir, was also buried near by, but the Dargah guardians are unable to point out his grave. Beyond the west wall of the southern court is an extremely pretty grave and

MOSQUE OF DAURAN KHAN

and outside the east wall of the central court—it can also be reached by steps from the gallery along the east side of the tank—is the

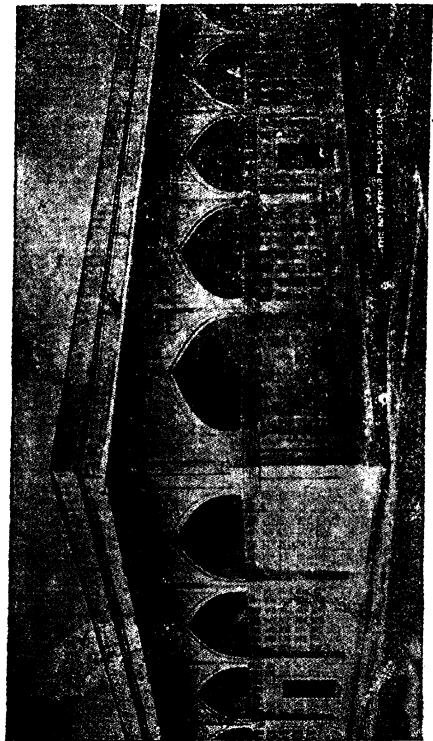
TOMB OF AZAM KHAN

or Atgah Khan, commonly known as Taga Khan. This man, whose actual name was Shams-ud-din-Muham-mad, saved the life of the Emperor Humayun on the occasion of his final and irretrievable defeat by Sher Shah and won alike the further consideration of the Emperor Akbar, the title of Azam Khan, and the Governorship of the Punjab, by defeating Bairam Khan at Jalandhur when the latter went into half-hearted rebellion against his master. His wife was a foster-mother to Akbar, as well as Maham Anagah and no doubt great jealousy arose between the families of the two ladies, which culminated in Adham Khan, son of the latter, murdering Azam Khan in the royal palace at Agra in 1556 A. D. The murderer then proceeded to the door of the private apartments of the palace and upon the Emperor issuing forth, tried to seize his hands in order to secure his pardon. Akbar, however, freed himself by violence and laid Adham Khan senseless by a single blow, which the court chronicler assures us was like that of a mace, and his body was then by the Emperor's orders, twice thrown from the lofty palace terrace into the court below. The corpses both of the murdered man and of his murderer were sent to Delhi, the former to be buried here, and the latter at the Kutab, where his

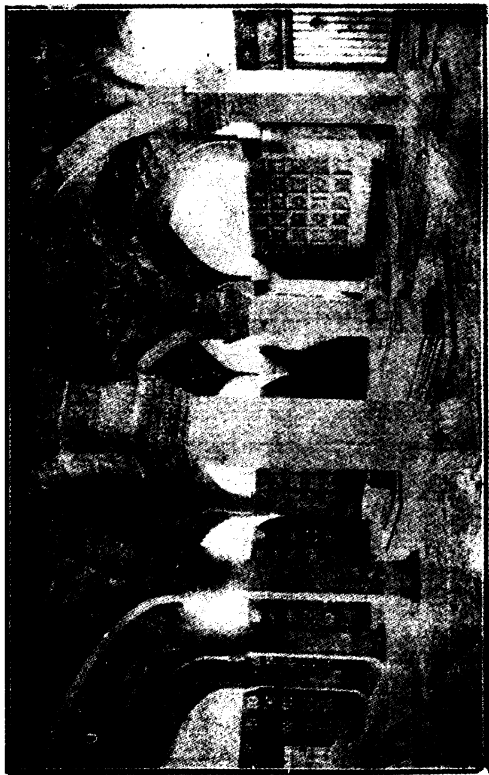
mother, who is said to have died of a broken heart, was soon laid beside him. The tomb of Azam Khan must have been one of the most effective and pleasing specimens of polychromatic decoration in the whole of India, and even in its present half-ruined condition will be considered by most people extremely pretty. The red sandstone used in it is of an unusually fine colour, and the marble has assumed an ivory hue. Three graves stand on the marble pavement of the sepulchral chamber, decorated with white and black stars. The enclosure wall on the west side was once brightly decorated with encaustic tiles, of which some traces still remain. Two hundred feet to the south-east of his tomb, and practically opposite the *Chabutra Yarani* courtyard, is the last building of special interest at the Dargha

THE CHAUSATH KHAMBHA

or Sixty-four Pillared Hall. This is the family grave enclosure of the sons of Azam Khan and of his brothers, several of whom, like Adham Khan, were commanders of 5,000, which was practically the highest military rank that could be attained in ordinary circumstances under the Moghul Emperors. The building was raised by Mirza Aziz Kokaltash, foster-brother of the Emperor Akbar, who died in 1624 A. D. and round him are buried a number of members of the family which was known as the Atgah-Khail, or Gang so widely did it spread and flourish under imperial favour. The grey marble arches of the hall are pleasing, and the effect of the interior is decidedly good, and reminds one in a way of the beautiful grey marble chamber of the Moti Musjid of Agra. (Fanshawe.)



CHOUSATH KHAMBA—EXTERIOR.



CHOUSATH KHAMBRA—INTERIOR.

CHAPTER XIV

SECOND EXCURSION

In the preceding two chapters we have explored the country within a radius of four miles from the southern wall of Shahjahanabad to the Dargah of Nizamuddin Aulia, visiting Ferozabad, the city of Sher Shah, Humayun's Mausoleum, Dargah Nizamuddin Aulia and returned to Shahjahanabad by the Kutub Road visiting Khairpur and Sufdar Jang's Mausoleum on the way. To-day we propose to go still further and the distance being long we shall make this the second excursion on a motor car which can be hired on easy terms in Shahjahanabad. Starting this time from Ajmere Gate in the southern city wall we take the road to Kutub. Passing the Mausoleum of Safdar Jang noticed in the twelfth chapter, we see about a mile removed to the right the lofty domes of the fine

DARGAH OF MUHAMMADPUR

In the plain between this place and the tomb

of Safdar Jang was fought the famous battle between Sultan Muhammad Shah, the Pathan King, and Timur, the Tartar.

MUBARAKPUR

More than a mile onward on the high road at a little distance to the left is situated the village of Mubarakpur in which the **TOMB AND MOSQUE OF MUBARAK SHAH** are worthy of notice. This is the earliest of the tombs built in the later Pathan style, in honour of the second Syed king, who was murdered in 1433 A. D. The building resembles the Tomb of Muhammad Shah in its style. Outside the enclosure of the tomb is the Mosque with two rows of bays and three large domes.

MOTH-KI-MASJID

A mile south of Mubarakpur is the **MOTH-KI-MASJID**, built in 1488, which is said to have served as a model for that of Sher Shah in the Purana Kila and the Jamali mosque at the Kutb.

We next pass

MUJAHIDPUR

on the right, where are some tombs of the later Pathan style, and

KERERA

on the left. Half a mile to the south of the latter is a fine

IDGAH

with round towers at the end of the wall where Timur pitched his camp subsequent to the battle of Delhi. Timur writes in his memoirs, "I mounted my horse and rode towards the gate of the maidan. I alighted at the Idgah, a lofty and extensive building and I gave orders for my quarters to be moved there and for my throne to be set up in the Idgah."

A mile away to the right of the road is seen the pale dome of the

TOMB OF FIROZ SHAH

Mr. Fanshawe says :—

The tank is extremely picturesque when viewed from below, although it no longer contains any water. There was once a pavilion in the middle of it, as in the Hauzi Shamsi at Mabrauli. Along the east side and the east end of the south side are the ruins of a number of galleries and steps in the wall of the tank, and above these rise some fine buildings, the domed tomb of the king (died 1839. A.D.) being the finest of all. The exterior of the tomb is plain, but the interior, of which the sides measure 28 feet, is fine, and a certain amount of the coloured decoration of the dome still remains. The three marble tombs are believed to mark the resting places of the king, of his son Nazir-ud-din Tughlak Shah, and of a grandson. The tomb was restored by Sikandar Shah Lodi, and was specially repaired by the Punjab Government some years ago. Several of the open stone canopies over graves near the tomb are extremely picturesque.

Near it is the

HAUZ KHAS

about which Timur wrote as follows :—

“This is a reservoir which was constructed by the Emperor Firoz Shah, and is faced all round with cement. Each side of the reservoir is more than a bow-shot long, and there are buildings round it.”

SIRI—JAHANPANAHI

At the ninth mile stone from Ajmere Gate we pass through the defences of JAHANPANAHI which connected SIRI with the OLD DELHI. (Please see chapter VIII, page 62 for general description of Siri and Jahanpanah.) Within the walls of Jahanpanah are several objects of interest to inspect which we shall make a diversion to the left from the main road. We should notice here the

MUHAMMADI MUSJID

with a single dome. There is also here the picturesque enclosure of

THE MAKHDUM SABZAWAR

the interior of which is approached by a fine gateway in the Hindu style. There is a handsome mosque, a rest-house and a tomb. The spot is said to be “one of the prettiest bits near Old Delhi.”

BAD MANDAL

Is a high platform, within Jahanpanah, from which an excellent view of the surrounding country may be had. It has been

suggested that it may have formed part of the Thousand Column Palace of Muhammad Tughlak.

BEGAMPUR MOSQUE

This fine Mosque is the second largest in Delhi. It was built in 1387 by Jahan Khan.

LAL GUMBAD

500 yards east of the *Begampur mosque* is a handsome tomb of red sandstone, sloping walls raised on a high base surmounted by a white marble dome, very similar in general appearance to that of Tughlak Shah. This, which is known as the *Lal Gumbaz*, is the grave of Kabir-ud-din Aulia, son of Yusaf Katal, and grandson of Shekh Faid-ud-din Shakarganj of Pakpattan. The tomb was built by Sultan Muhammad Tughlak, and so considerably smaller than that of his father—the internal measurements being twenty-nine feet, and the external forty-five, as compared with thirty-eight and sixty-one feet. The interior of the dome is of red sandstone, and from the centre hang nine chains for lamps over the graves on the floor; at the head of that of the Aulia, is an elaborate lamp pillar. The pierced red sandstone grilles in the north and south walls of the tomb are very fine. East of the village of Khirki in the line of the defences of Jahanpanah is a fine work of masonry forming a sluice for the stream which enters here, known as the *Sat Palah*, or Seven Arches, built by Muhammad Tughlak Shah, in 1326 A.D.

CHIRAGH-I-DEHLI

This is the *shrine* of Nazir-ud-din Muhammad, known as *Chiragh Dehli* (the Lamp of Delhi), the disciple of Nizam-ud-din Aulia, and last saint of renown at Delhi, who died in 1356 A.D. The walls which enclose the shrine and village, and a huge untenanted area were built by the Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1729, and rise finely above the banks of

the depression, which had worn under them a deep bed, once spanned by a bridge, as also by another lower down its course. A picturesque gate in the west wall leads to the shrine between the tomb of Bahlol Lodi and a mosque. The Dargah is entered from the east by a gate built by Firoz Shah in 1373 A.D. The tomb chamber is surmounted by a dome of red sandstone surrounded by a broad dripstone: it has been much modernised at various times. A gold cup hangs over the grave, as in the Khizri mosque at Nizam-ud-din. In the north-west corner of the enclosure is a fine *Assembly Hall*.

THE TOMB OF SULTAN BAHLOL LODI

(Died 1488 A.D.) is occupied by the attendants of the Dargah, so that only its exterior can be seen. It is of unusual shape for a tomb, having five domes over it; the details of the sandstone decoration are all Hindu. To the front of it on the south side is a grave enclosure surrounded by a very beautiful pierced screen of red sandstone, which contrasts happily with the green shade above it.

Passing through the Southern wall of Jahanpanah by

THE SATPALAH BRIDGE,

a fine old Moghal seven arched "construction," we reach the village of

KHIRKI

The mosque of Khirki is the most interesting of all the old Pathan mosques, and like that of Gulbergah, not far removed from it in date, and the much earlier one of Cordova built in the last quarter of the ninth century, is a covered mosque, which is a rare arrangement, broken in this instance by four open quadrangles in the middle of the arcades. It was built by Jahan Khan in 1380, much about the same time as the Kalan and Begampur mosques and some years subsequently to that of

Nizam-ud-din which it resembles most. The exterior measurement of the mosque gives a dimension of 193 feet each way. (The Gulbargah mosque is 216 by 176 feet). The sides of the quadrangles are thirty-two feet square and have three arches, each quadrangle is surrounded by pillared spaces of the same area as itself, and the total number of arches from front to back and from side to side being fifteen. The plain square columns which carry them are fourfold at the corners of the courts, and twofold round the courts; the columns of the arcades in line with the former are double, and with the latter single, and the effect of the play of light and shade looking down the vistas of them and across the courts is very picturesque. A separate recess projects in the centre of the west wall, forming a mihrab. After 1857 the mosque was cleared of the villagers who had settled in it.

Two hundred yards north of the Khirki mosque is an extremely pretty sandstone pavilion, with pierced screens over the *grave of Yusaf Katal*. (*Fanshawe.*)

Close by it are to be seen the *Hauz Rani*, (the Queen's Tank); and the earthen mounds which mark the eastern defences of

RAI PITHORA KILA

which we will now enter. Just half a mile from the outer line of defences the east wall of the citadel LAL KOT is reached and immediately beyond it is

THE KUTUB ENCLOSURE

Please See Chapters VI and VII for the description of THE KUTUB MOSQUE, the IRON PILLIAR, KUTUB MINAR, ALAI DARWAZAH, TOMB OF SULTAN SHUMSUDDIN ALTAMISH ALAUDDIN'S TOMB and BALBAN'S TOMB situated within the enclosure.

At the north-west corner of the Mosque to the east of the Alai Darwaza is

THE TOMB OF IMAM ZAMMIN

It is built of sandstone and marble and dates from 1539. 200 yards beyond the Kutub enclosure stands the Tomb of Adham Khan which being placed on the wall of the Lalkot citadel, is conspicuous all round. Mr. Fanshawe writes about this as follows:—

The tomb, though of so late a date as 1566 A.D., is built entirely in the severe middle Pathan style, and the materials of it were quite possibly taken bodily from some Pathan tomb; the domed interior is very fine, and many beautiful views of the Kutab-Minar may be enjoyed from the arcade round the exterior, in which the stone over the grave of Adham Khan has been placed. The grave of his mother, who is said to have died of grief forty days after the righteous execution of her son, has disappeared. Adham Khan had wrested Mandu from the last of the Gujerat kings, and having obtained possession of his beautiful mistress, sought to compel her to yield to his desire, upon which, Lucretia-like she killed herself. When the Emperor Akbar heard of this he recalled and disgraced Adham Khan, though he was his half-brother as well as his foster-brother, and demanded the sur-

render of two ladies of the family of the defeated king, whom also Adham Khan had captured. They were accordingly sent to the royal court, where they were poisoned by Maham Anagah, the mother of Adham Khan to prevent thier making any complaint to the emperor.

A hundred yards to the south-east of this tomb is a fine tank, known as

THE GANDAK BAOLI

in which old Jain columns have been used. Divers jump into this tank also. Three hundred yards further east of it, and among the ruins of many graveyards is a still finer baoli of the date of 1516 A.D., known as the *Rajonki Bain*, with a picturesque tomb and mosque on the west side of it.

JAMALI MOSQUE

Is a fine and pleasing structure of the date of 1528. On the north side of the court yard of the mosque is the tomb of the founder Jamali Shekh Fazlulla.

We now pass on beyond the Tomb of Adham Khan to the shrine of

KHAJA KUTUBUDDIN BAKHTIAR KAKI.

This saint was born at Ush in Farghana (Turkestan) and came to Delhi with the earliest Muslim conquerors—perhaps even before them—and died here in 1235. He was

surnamed "Kaki" because according to the tradition, he was fed in his periods of abstraction with small cakes called *kak* by the Saint Khizer. In the Mahalesarai here, the latest Delhi Kings spent the summer months. Here sleep most of these kings too from Bahadur Shah the successor of Aurangzeb downwards. The space reserved for the tomb of Bahadur Shah, who lies buried at Rangoon, is still pointed out here.

The grave of the saint is a plain earthen mound covered by a cloth and surrounded by low, marble railing. A canopy is suspended over it from four marble columns in the court. A number of other graves lie round it. "Many other servants of God," writes Abul Fazl, "instructed in divine knowledge, in this spot repose in their last sleep." The west wall of the enclosure is decorated by tiles of green and yellow in alternate rows. This work is indifferently ascribed to Shekh Farid-ud-din Shakarganj who came to Delhi upon the death of his master, and to Aurangzeb. Probably the former built the wall as a place for prayer, and the latter added the decoration. Outside the south-east corner of the enclosure is the mosque of the Khwaja Kutubuddin, much renovated and added to since his time.

A little to the south-west of the grave is a little *Booli* (or well), at the head of which

Zabita Khan, the Rohilla chief, sleeps his eternal sleep. Some fine views may be obtained from the head of this once fine tank.

MAHRAULI

About 3 miles south-west of Kutub Minar, and on the road side, lies the village of Mahrauli. There is a bazaar here and it presents a most animated spectacle during the time of the Fair—the Punkha Mela (Lit. Fan Fair). The tomb at the north-west angle of the bazaar is that of a brother of Adham Khan. To the west of the village is the *Hauz Shamsi*, a reserved well constructed by Altamsh which, when full with water, should have looked exquisitely fine. To its east is the *Jhirna garden*, into which the tank empties itself and in which are some fine old trees. Amongst the buildings to the north of this garden must be noted the *Jehaz* (or ship), a red sandstone structure consisting of an old mosque and a newer courtyard.

MALKAPUR

Three miles west of Mahrauli lies the village of MALKAPUR. Here is the tomb called *Sultan Ghari*, where sleeps Nasir-ud-din, the eldest son of Altamish, who predeceased his father. Mr. Fanshawe's description is worth quoting here:—

It is situated in the centre of a stone enclosure raised high above the ground, which, with its sloping

corner towers, seems to have been a fore-runner of the mosques in the severe Pathan style, if indeed it was not restored in that style. The picturesque gateway is constructed in the same manner as the screen arches at the Kutub Mosque. The marble tomb chamber itself is mainly under-ground, only the roof and the walls, which supported it appearing above the level of the platform, and is approached by a steep flight of narrow steps. From this peculiar arrangement the name of the mausoleum (Ghar-cave) is derived. The roof is borne by stone beams arranged as in mosques made up from Jain materials. The inscription on the gate gives to the son the title of Malik-i-Muluk-ush-Sharak, Lord of the Eastern Countries, as he died while governor of Lakhnauti, the modern Dacca. At the south-east angle of the enclosure on the outside were two fine domed canopies over the graves of Sultans Rukn-ud-din and Muiz-ud-din, also sons and short-lived successors of Altamish; but one of these has fallen, and the other will fall unless it is speedily secured. In front of the mausoleum are various buildings of the severe middle Pathan style, including a fine mosque.

TUGHLAKABAD

After returning to Kutub from Maharawli (and perhaps from Malkapur) we take the road to TUGHLAKABAD which is five miles due east of Kutub. The objects of interest in Tughlakabad have been noticed in Chapter IX on page 64.

Corresponding to Tughlak's Musoleum at the east end of the lake, and connected with the south-east corner of the defences of Tughlakabad city by an immense embankment, is the ruined fortress of

ADILABAD

or Muhammadabad, built by the Pathan

King Muhammad Adil in 1552. This is entered by a fine gate on the west face, and affords a very charming view from above; it was possibly a water palace, like the splendid buildings at Mandu known by that name. The east face of the embankment is forty feet high; between it and the walls of Tughlakabad city is a fine sluice cut in the solid rock. A mile beyond this is an isolated fortified little hill, known as the

NAI'S (OR BARBAR'S) FORT.

This was apparently a college (Madrassa), or the retreat of some holy personage, and was probably fortified as such against a possible Moghul attack.

Here our second excursion ends and we return to Shahjahanabad by the Grand Trunk Road from Muttra. We cross the

BARAHPALA BRIDGE

noticed in the twelfth Chapter on page 84.

This bridge was crossed by Mr. William Finch in his journey from Agra to Lahore. He writes:

The ruins of old Delly (i.e. Kila Rai Pithora, Jahanpanah, Siri, and Tughlakabad) lie a little distance from here, separated by an arm of the Gemini (Jumna) over which is a bridge of eleven or twelve arches..... Particularly there appears amongst these ruins the carkase of that ancient building called the Castle, that had to the number of 52 gates

(this is Tughlakabad,) a thing of surprising glory and stateliness in its time, but now worn out and disfigured to the last degree."

Mr. Finch noted quite correctly that there were four Old Delhis, built by the Pathan Kings, *via.*, the original Delhi, with its extension of Jahanpanah and Siri and Tughlakabad, all of which we have just left behind us.

CHAPTER XV.

SHAHJAHANABAD.

THE MODERN DELHI

We now come to the seventh and the last city of Delhi founded by Shah Jahan in 1638 and called after him Shahjahanabad. It extends for nearly two and a quarter mile along the right bank of the Jumna. Proceeding to Delhi by railway from Bombay or Calcutta you cross the Jumna from the east, cross the fortrees of SALIMGARH, pass by the northernmost corner of the Lal Kila or Red Fort and enter the city through an opening in the city wall. In front of the **Railway Station** and parallel to it towards the south lie the **Queen's Gardens**. Crossing the Queen's Garden in the middle and passing the **MUSEUM** at its southern end you enter the

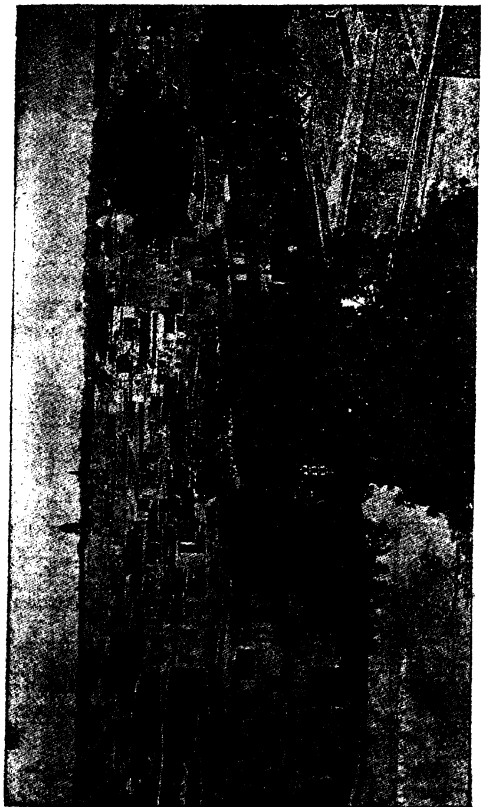
CHANDNI CHOUK

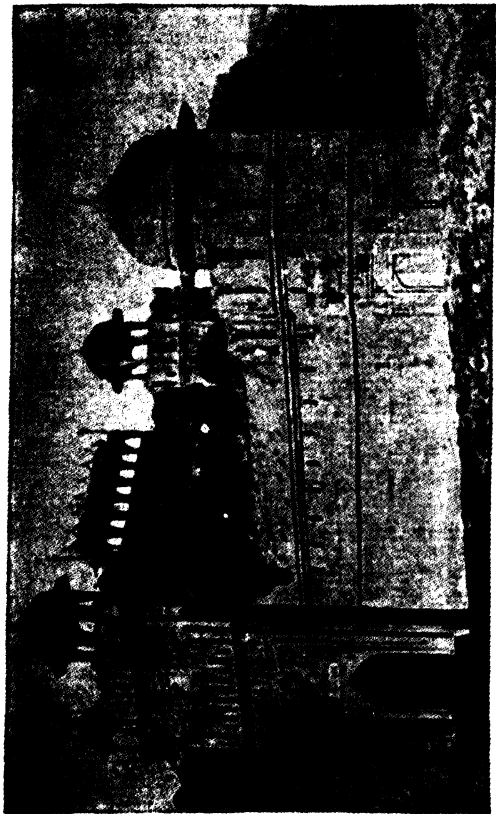
the Moonlight Street—in the centre of which stands the **NORTHBROOK CLOCK TOWER**. This street is the principal feature of Shahjahanabad and extends from FA-

TEHPURI MOSQUE in the west to the Lahore Gate of the FORT in the east. Chandni Chouk which runs due east and west with its extension by the Fatehpuri Mosque called the LAHORI BAZAAR divides the City into two somewhat unequal portions.

The Mughal Emperors were consummate masters of TOWN PLANNING. Shahjahan specially had very highly cultivated aesthetic sense. He planned everything on a large and noble scale. His superb palaces at Agra and Delhi and the two stately mosques at both these places and that crown of architecture, the Taj, bear eloquent witness to his genius. Long before Paris set the fashion (1670 A. D.) of having the principal streets of the city flanked with avenues, and *boulevards* became the attractive feature of the modern towns in Europe, Shahjahan had planned in 1638 a beautiful *boulevard* in the CHANDNI CHOUK of Delhi. *Unter-den-Linden* in Berlin founded by Frederick the Great about 1740 A. D. (a century after Shahjahanabad was built) is the grandest example of a *boulevard* in Europe and curiously enough it has a marked resemblance to the Chandni Chouk of Delhi. In both cases two avenues with a broad road between them run on either side of a slightly raised pavement in the centre of the street, the latter well shaded by the inner avenues, while

A BIRD'S EYE EW OF DELH





LAHORE GATE OF THE FORT.

a broad paved footpath intervenes between "the covered arcades of shops" and the outer avenue. In the middle of the central pavement formerly ran a stream of water, banked no doubt with flower parterre on each side. In the centre of the Street where stands the Clock Tower now, there was a tank into which the stream flowed at one end and it flowed out of it at the other end. It is apparent that the Chandni Chouk was laid, albeit on a larger scale, on the same plan on which *chamans* or flower gardens are arranged in front of the Mughal palaces. There was a real Chouk or square round the tank and the name Chandni Chouk originally applied to that Square and not to the street that led out of it.

Alas! Chandni Chouk has lost almost all its former salient and pleasing features. It is no longer a Chouk. The tank is filled up and on its site stands an outlandish clock-tower. The stream was arched over long ago and the modern Municipal vandalism has destroyed the old avenues. Instead of two roads and the central pavement shaded by four rows of trees there runs one bare broad road through the Street. It would be more appropriate to call it a glaring Sunlit Street than the cool and shady Moonlight Square that it was before. Still even in its degenerate state, Chandni Chouk can well claim to be the

largest bazaar of the East. In spite of all the modern innovations and so called improvements it has retained its oriental character. Unlike other provincial capitals Europeans have no separate shopping place or business quarters of their own in Delhi, but have their shops, business houses in the Chandni Chouk. Like Berlin all the principal shops, banks, houses of business, schools, colleges, libraries, places of worship, hospitals, baths, restaurants, inns and sarais are situated on this the main thoroughfare of Delhi and into it opens a large garden (Queen's) as Tiergarten does in Berlin. From this main artery, lanes lead into various *daribas* or squares each exclusively devoted to a particular trade or craft. Both Chandni Chouk of Delhi and Linden of Berlin terminate into a royal square beyond which are the palaces of the Mughal and the Kaiser respectively with this difference that the Mughal palace of Delhi is "the most magnificent in the East—perhaps in the world."

ROYAL SQUARE

"Nothing can be conceived much more brilliant than the great square in front of the fortress at the hours when the omrahs, rajahs and mansabdars repair to the citadel to mount guard or attend the assembly of the Am or Khas." So wrote Bernier who visited

Shahjahanabad when it was fresh from the builders' hands.

At the south-west corner of the Great Square, described above, part of which has recently been built over, one of the buildings being DUFFERIN HOSPITAL, stands the noble building of

THE JAMA MUSJID

on a lofty basement. What Taj is to Agra, Jama Musjid is to Delhi. It is the coping stone of Shahjahanabad to which all parts of Delhi, even the turreted walls of the Fort, subordinate themselves.

"Its three gateways, combined with the four angle towers and the frontispiece and domes of the mosque itself make up a design where all the parts are pleasingly subordinated to one another, but at the same time produce a whole of great variety and elegance." (Fergusson.)

Though this is not the largest mosque in the world it is certainly one of the most imposing. Its proportions are colossal. Bernier says :—

"I can perceive no fault that offends taste ; every part appears well contrived, properly executed and correctly proportioned."

The Jama Masjid, or 'great mosque,' stands out boldly from a small rocky rising ground. Begun by Shah Jahan in the fourth year of his reign, and completed in the tenth, it still remains one of the finest buildings of its kind in India. The front courtyard, 450 feet square, surrounded by a cloister open on both sides, is paved with granite inlaid with marble, and

commands a view of the whole city. The mosque itself, a splendid structure forming an oblong 261 feet in length, is approached by a magnificent flight of stone steps. Three domes of white marble rise from its roof, with two tall and graceful minarets at the corners in front. The interior of the mosque is paved throughout with white marble, and the walls and roof are lined with the same material.—*Imperial Gazetteer*

Mr. G. W. Steevens in his Chapter on the "Sights of Shahjahanabad" gives a pen picture of the Jama Musjid in the following words:—

It is said to be the largest mosque in the world—a vast stretch of red sandstone and white marble and gold upstanding from a platform reached on three sides by flights of steps so tall, so majestically wide, that they are like a stone mountain tamed into order and proportion at an emperor's will. Above the brass-mounted doors rise red portals so huge that they almost dwarf the whole—red galleries above them, white marble domes above them, white marble minarets rising higher yet, with pillars and cupolas and gilded pinnacles above all. Beside the gateways the walls of the quadrangle seem to creep along the ground; then, at the corners, rise towers with more open chambers, more cupolas, and gilded pinnacles. Within, above the bloistered quadrangle, bulge three pure white domes—not hemispheres, like Western domes, but complete globes, only sliced away at the base and tapering to a spike at the top—and a slender minaret flank each side.

The whole, to Western eyes, has a strange effect. Our own buildings are tighter together, gripped and focussed more in one glance; over the Jumma Musjid your eye must wander, and then the mind must connect the views of the different parts. If you look at it near you cannot see it all; for it is low and seems to straggle. Yet it is most light and graceful with all its bulk: it seems to suit India, thus spread out to get its fill of the warm sun. It looks rich and lavish, as if space were of no account to it.

JAIN TEMPLE

About 200 yards to the north-west from the Jama Musjid is the modern JAIN OR SARAAQI TEMPLE. Mr. Fergusson admires the elegant decoration of the porch of the temple. He says :—

There is one other example that certainly deserves notice not only on account of its beauty, but its singularity. It has frequently been necessary to remark upon that curious wooden strut by which the Jains sought to relieve the apparent weakness of the longer beams under their domes. It occurs at Abu, at Girnar, and Udaipur, and many other places everywhere, in fact, where an octagonal dome is used. It was also employed by the Hindus in their torans, and so favourite an ornament did it become that Akbar used it frequently both at Agra and Futtehpore Sikri. For centuries it continued without much alteration. It was left, however, for a Jaina architect of the end of the last or the beginning of this century, in the Mahomedan City of Delhi, to suggest a mode by which what was only conventionally beautiful might really become an appropriate constructive part of lithic architecture.

The architect has had the happy idea of filing in the whole of the back of the strut with pierced foliated tracery of the most exquisite device—thus turning what, though elegant, was one of the feeblest parts of Jaina design into a thoroughly constructive stone bracket; one of the most pleasing to be found in the Indian architecture, and doing this while preserving all its traditional associations. The pillars, too, that support these brackets, are of great elegance and constructive propriety, and the whole makes up as elegant a piece of architectural design as any certainly of its age. The weak part of the composition is the dome. It is elegant, but too conventional. It no longer has any constructive propriety but has become a mere ornament. It is not difficult, however, to see why natives should admire and adopt it. When the eyes or a

nation have been educated by a gradual succession of changes in any architectural object, preserved in through five or six centuries, the taste becomes so accustomed to believe the last fashion to be the best, the change has been so gradual that people forget how far they are straying from the true path.

THE CITY WALLS AND GATES

The city is fortified on three sides by a strong wall and on the fourth—the eastern side—partly by the Fort and partly by a wall. The northern wall of the city extends just three quarters of a mile from the **WATER BASTION** in the east to **MORI BASTION** in the west. In this wall are situated the famous **Kashmir Gate** and the **Mori or Drain Gate**, the latter built by a Mahratta Governor and now removed. Beyond the north wall and approached by the Kashmir and Mori Gates lies the **Civil Station** bounded on the east by the **Jumna**, on the west by the **RIDGE** and on the South by the **NICHOLSON AND KUDSIA GARDENS**. Beyond the Ridge is the **OLD CANTONMENT** which was destroyed in May 1857. The length of the west wall from the Mori Bastion to the **Ajmere Gate** is one and quarter mile. The **Kabul**, **Lahore**, **Farash Khana** and **Ajmere Gates** are pierced in this side of the wall, the former two having been since removed.

Beyond the **Lahore Gate** and the northern portion of the west wall of the city lies the **SADAR BAZAAR**, with the **KADAM SHARIF**

and IDGAH below it, and the KISHANGANJ and FAHARIPUR quarters, the western Jumna canal and the south end of the ridge above it. About half-a-mile west of the south end of the ridge are the SABZI MANDI and ROSHANARA GARDENS, which complete the principal objects of interest on this side.

The south wall extends for about one and quarter mile from Ajmeer Gate to the WELLESLEY BASTION and it is pierced by the **Turkoman** and the **Delhi Gates**. Half-a-mile beyond the Delhi Gate in the south-east corner of the DARYAGANJ cantonment are the ruins of FIROZABAD from where the road proceeds to the Tomb of the Emperor Humayoon.

The gates on the river side of the city are the Khairati and Rajghat, the Calcutta and Nigambod—both removed; the Kela Gate, and the Badar Rao Gate, the last being now closed. Nearly one-third of the eastern frontage is occupied by the river wall of the Fort.

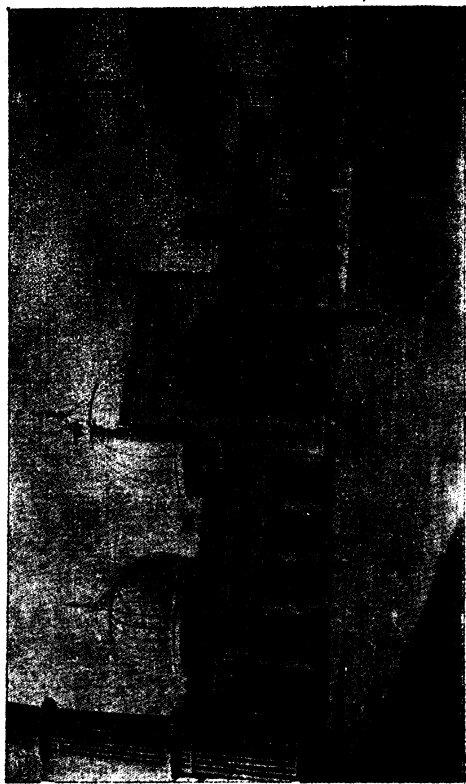
THE STREETS OF DELHI

Let us now take another turn in the streets of Shahjahanabad. We will start from our hotel in the Civil Station in the north and enter the city by the Mori Gate. We cross the railway line by the **Dufferin Bridge** and then turn to the east on the

Queen's Road—the CAMBRIDGE MISSION HOUSE which was formerly the residence of Nawab Saffer Jang—is on the road, we then turn the corner on our right and pass along the western boundary of Queen's Garden. There are many Sarais and Hotels in this street for Hindus and Musalmans. We now reach Fatehpuri Mosque which stands at the western end of Chandni Chouk. **Lahori Bazaar**, which is the principal grain mart of Delhi, is practically a continuation of the Chandni Chouk after a little bend at the corner of Fatehpuri Mosque. This street ends in the Lahore Gate of the city beyond which outside the walls is **Sadar Bazaar** the modern extension of Shahjahanabad.

There are rows of shops in the eastern and northern sides of the **Fatehpuri Mosque**, the first floor above being occupied by offices and chambers of merchants, doctors, vakils, etc. The central gateway and the cupolas of the parapet on the top of the building alone indicate the presence of the mosque behind. It was built by one of the wives of Shah Jahan in 1650. The mosque building is surmounted by a single dome of black and white stripes. It was used by Government for secular purposes from 1857 but was restored to Muhammadans for purposes of worship in 1876.

THE JAMA MUSJID, INTERIOR.



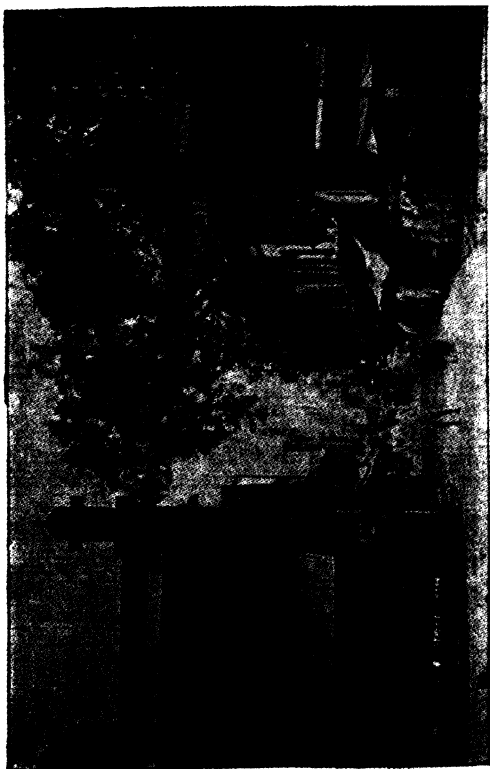
JAMA MUSJID—EXTERIOR VIEW, DELHI.





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EGERTON ROAD, DELHI

From the front of the mosque one broad street leads along the south side to the **Lal Kua Bazaar** where are to be found a few good **Turkish Baths**. Proceeding along the Chandni Chouk you come to the **North-Brook Clock Tower**. To the north of the Clock Tower is the block of building called the **Delhi Institute**, comprising of MUNICIPAL OFFICE, TOWN HALL, PUBLIC LIBRARY and the MUSEUM. QUEEN VICTORIA'S STATUE, presented to the city by Mr. James Skinner, a grandson of Colonel Skinner, C.B., is placed in front of the Institute. Behind the buildings is the **Queen's Gardens**. "The Gardens must have at one time been extremely beautiful specimens of eastern pleasure interests and even now are very pretty." (Fanshawe.) On the site on which the Delhi Institute is situated once stood the **Sarai of the Princess Jahanara Begam**, which was considered by Bernier one of the finest buildings in Delhi and was compared by him with the Palais Royal of Paris because of its arcades below and rooms with a gallery in front above. To the south of the Clock Tower at right angle to the Chaudni Chouk Street is another long Bazaar Street which is now called EGERTON ROAD which leads to the THANDI SARAK or the Cool Road.

Proceeding eastward from the Clock Tower

towards the Fort, on your right stands the famous **Golden Mosque** from the platform of which Nadar Shah witnessed the terrible massacre of the people in March 1739. Further on, on the same side is the **Kotwali** or Police Station where gallows were erected on which many mutineers including Nawab Abdur Rahman Khan of Jhajjar and Raja Nahar Singh of Ballahgarh met their fate after September 1857. Here were also exposed the bodies of the three royal princes, one a son, and the other a grandson of the last Mughal King, shot by Captain Hodson on the 18th September 1857. We then pass through the **Jauhari** or **Jewellers' Bazaar** and **Phul-ki-Mandi** or Flower Market both of which are now included in the Chandni Chouk. On the left will be noticed the fine building now occupied by the **Delhi Bank** which was once the residence of Begam Samru. The eastern end of the Chandni Chouk was originally called the **Urdu** or "Military-Bazaar" which became the name of the Hindustani language which originated in this Bazaar. Here once stood the **Khuni Durwazah** so called after the massacre which took place near it by the orders of Nadar Shah.

ROYAL SQUARE

We are again in the Royal Square with

the Lahore Gate of the Fort directly in front of us. The Gate of the Fort on the southern side is called the Delhi Gate which corresponds with the Delhi Gate of the city wall. Outside this gate originally stood the Chitor Stone Elephants brought from Agra. The open space in front of the Delhi Gate of the Fort was once an inhabited quarter of the city, **Khas Bazaar** and **Faiz Bazaar** were the principal streets in it.

It had a ten-sided chauk in the middle. In it stood the beautiful little Mosque called **Sonahri Musjid** the back of which is now seen at a little distance from the Delhi Gate of the fort. It was built in 1751 by Javed Khan, the confidential adviser of the Kudsia Begam, the mother of Ahmed Shah. Javed Khan was murdered when the king was deposed and blinded together with his mother. There was another mosque here called Akbarabadi constructed within the Faiz Bazaar by Akbarabadi Begam, wife of Shah Jahan. This mosque and all the buildings on the south side of the Fort were removed after 1857.

DARYAGANJ

The south eastern part of Shahjahanabad, about half a mile from the Delhi Gate, was called **DARYAGANJ**—"the River Quarter." In the garden here is quartered the Native Regiment of the Delhi garrison.

This was the original cantonment of Delhi after 1803 : but the garrison was subsequently located beyond the Ridge, and in the Mutiny the quarter was mainly occupied by subordinates of the Arsenal, and of various departments of Government. On the north side of the road above the Khairati Gate is the mosque of **Zinat-ul-Masajid** or the Ornament of Mosques, built in 1700 by one of the daughters of the the Emperor Aurangazeb. The building is a fine one, the steps leading up to it from the roadway are particularly picturesque. The mosque was used for military purposes for many years after 1857, and during that time the tomb of the foundress, which stood on the north side of the enclosure, was removed.

About midway between the Fort and the Kashmir Gate in the north is the **St. James Church** built by Col. Skinner, C. B., at a cost of Rs. 80,000.

St. James Church is in the form of a Greek Cross, surmounted by a high dome, which indicates the position of the Kashmir Gate in all views of the city from the Ridge and from the north. The graves of Col. Skinner and of the various members of his family lie to the north side of the Church ; among these graves is that of Mr. Willam Fraser, Commissioner of Delhi, murdered in 1835, of whom Victor Jacquemont wrote so enthusiastically. In the south-east corner of the churchyard is the grave of Sir T. T. Metcalfe, the builder of Metcalfe House ; and near the south-west corner of the church is the old gilded ball and cross,

bearing marks of the bullets fired at in 1857. In the front of the church is a memorial cross, and inside it are a number of memorial tablets.

Between the St. James' Church and the Post Office on the same side of the road, 600 yards from the Kashmir Gate, is the **Municipal High School**, in a building with a high pseudo-classical columns in the front. This was originally the house of the famous Mardan Ali Khan, and was for many years after 1803, occupied by the Resident at the Court of Delhi, and afterwards by the Delhi Government College, given up in 1883.

KALEIDOSCOPIC SCENES

To understand what native life is, the tourist should spend an hour or two without any fixed goal in the **Chandni Chowk**, usually called Silver Street. This is the Mooski of Delhi, though, unlike that famous Cairene highway, the Chandni Chowk is a fairly wide avenue. The picturesqueness is not so much in the buildings, which lack the artistic outlines of those in the Mooski, as in the natives themselves. A striking feature of the street life is the extraordinary variety of colour, though this, indeed, the visitor fresh from the Bombay bazaars expects as a matter of course. This living mosaic has at first a bewildering effect on the spectator, but after a while this kaleidoscopic crowd can be resolved into separate units, each unit being an independent blend of orange and magenta, green and violet, or silver and scarlet. Extremely picturesque are the women as they glide through the throng, carrying water jars or brass pots on their heads, their silver anklets jingling faintly. Then there is great variety in the animal and vehicular traffic. An elephant stalks along with heavy dignity, picking his way among a procession of gaily painted ekkas

and carts drawn by sleek bullocks, like an ocean liner among a fleet of barges and ferry boats. The genuine native shops, as opposed to those which concern themselves chiefly with tourists, are feasts of colour, the goods as often as not being spread out on the ground, the proprietor and his assistants squatting among the wares and occasionally calling out their merits. In short, these street and bazaar scenes have a strong fascination for the observant traveller. What will probably impress the artistic visitor is the natural love of picturesque effect, and the correct taste in colour possessed by the Indians. In spite of the extraordinary variety of colours to be seen in the streets, one seldom sees any "colour discords." Very striking too are the bizarre contrasts between the Oriental atmosphere of the City of the Moghuls and the latest development of civilisation afforded by the electric trams.—G. W. Steevens' *India*.

CHAPTER XVI

SHAH JAHAN'S PALACE

"The palace at Delhi," writes Mr. Ferguson, "is, or rather was, the most magnificent palace in the East—perhaps in the world." It is enclosed on all sides by "a very noble wall of red sandstone relieved at intervals by towers surmounted by kiosks." When Shah Jahan made up his mind to transfer the capital to Delhi from Agra on account of "the broken ravines and numerous inequalities throughout the city, want of space in the fort, narrowness of the streets and the inconvenience caused to the inhabitants by the large crowds of troops and elephants, the retinues of the Emperor and his Amirs,"* orders were issued for the preparation of designs for a palace similar to those of Agra and Lahore and the foundation stones were laid in A. H. 1048 (A.D. 1638) the twelfth year of Shah Jahan's reign under the superintendence of

* *Amal Saleh* translated by Moulvi Mohammad Shuaib for Mr. Gordon Sanderson's article on Shah Jahan's Fort in the *Archæological Report* for 1911-12. Other quotations from Indian authors are also from the same source.

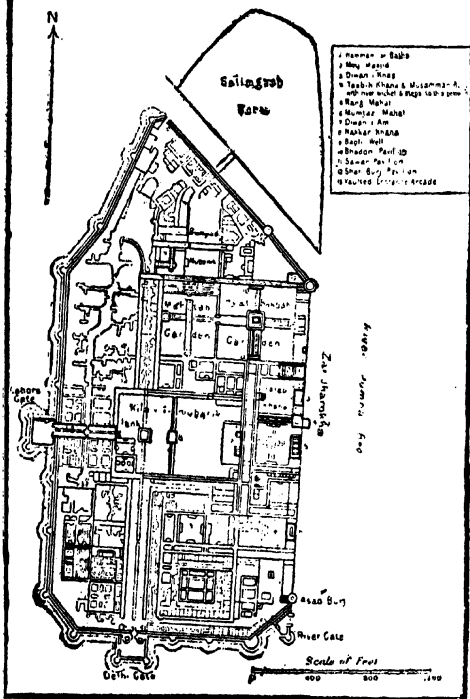
Ghairat Khan, the Governor of Delhi. Ahmad and Hamid are the names of the "skilled architects" employed to carry out the work. It was completed in 8 years in the 20th year of the reign.

The inauguration of the Palace was made by the Emperor on the 24th Rabi-ul-awwal A. H. 1058. The Emperor arrived at the Fort with a gorgeous retinue, Prince Dara Shikoh scattering gold and silver over his father's head till he reached the gates. "The Palaces had been already decorated, courtyards and buildings covered with gorgeous carpets and hangings, while 'deep red Kashmir shawls covered each seat.' 'The buildings became the envy of the art galleries of China.' The roof, walls, and colonnades (*aiwans*) of the Diwan-i-Amm, were hung with brocaded velvet from Turkey, silk from China and Khata, while a gorgeous canopy (*Aspak Dalbadal*) specially prepared for the occasion in the factory at Amadabad, measuring 70 *gaz* by 45 *gaz*, and costing a *lac* of rupees, was raised by '3,000 active *farashes*.' The canopy was supported by silver columns and surrounded by a silver railing. The hall of the Diwan-i-Amm was surrounded on this occasion with a golden railing, while the throne was provided with a special canopy, fringed with pearls, and supported by golden

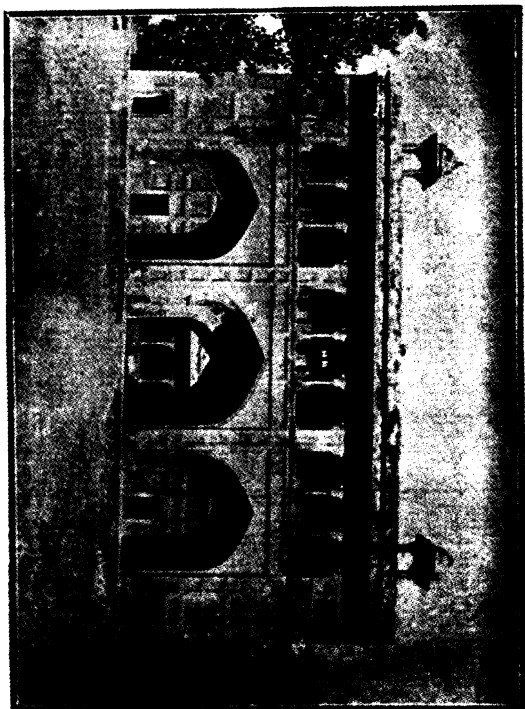


DELHI GATE.

Plan of the
PALACE OF DELHI
before 1857

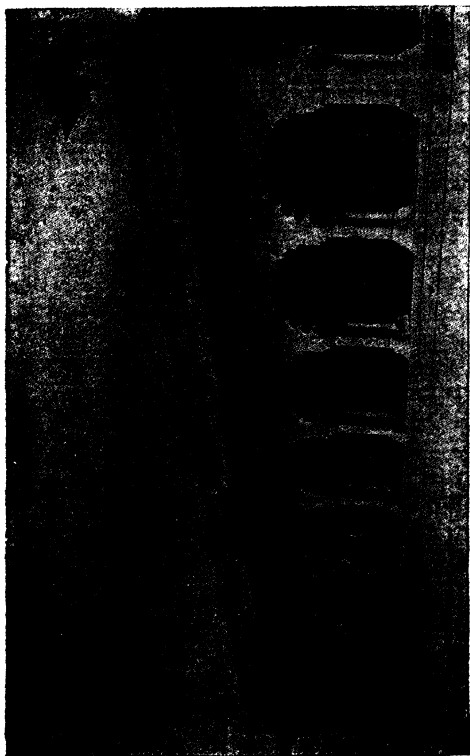


PLAN OF THE FORT.



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pillars, wreathed with bands of studded gems. Small subsidiary thrones, set with gems, were also placed before the royal throne. The Emperor, signalised the occasion, still further, by the distribution of lavish gifts, and the 'honours list' was a full one. The Begam Sahibah received 4 *lacs* of rupees; Prince Dara, a special robe of honour and jewelled weapons, an increase from the rank of ten to twenty thousand horse, a caparisoned elephant, and two *lacs* of rupees. The Princes Sulaiman Shikoh and Sipehr Shikoh (Sons of Dara Shikoh) received, respectively, daily allowances of Rupees 500 and Rupees 300 in addition to their original pay. The Prime Minister, Sadullah Khan, a robe of honour, a *nadri*, and the rank of 7,000 horse, while Raja Bithal Das was presented with a robe and the rank of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse. Makrumat Khan, under whose supervision the Fort and its buildings were completed, received the rank of *Panj Hazari*. The above is a brief abstract of Muhammad Salih's account of the inauguration ceremony, and the palace is said to have been somewhat similarly decorated on the occasion of Aurangzeb's accession."*

The Fort is a near parallelogram, with the angles slightly canted off, and measures

* Mr. George Sanderson in the *Archæological Report for 1911-12*.

1600 feet east and west by 3200 feet north and south. The principal entrance, the **Lahore Gate**, faces the Chandni Chouk. The two stone **Bridges** which cross the moat at the Lahore and Delhi Gates, were built, their inscriptions tell us, in A. H. 1226 (A.D. 1811) in the reign of Akbar II, under the management of Dilawar-ud-Daulah, Robert Machpherson Bahadur, Diler Jang, to replace the former drawbridges of wood. (Syed Ahmad Khan.)

The **Barbicans** in front of the Delhi and Lahore Gates are the work of Aurangzeb. Shah Jahan, imprisoned by his son at Agra, wrote to him, "Dear son, you have made the Fort a bride and have set a veil before her face," (Syed Ahmad). The glacis which surrounds the Fort to the south and west was constructed after the Mutiny. Passing the deeply recessed portal, a **Vaulted Hall** is entered, rising two storeys, 375 feet long, like the nave of gigantic Gothic cathedral—"the noblest entrance," says Mr. Fergusson, "known to belong to any existing palace." "The whole of the interior of the vaulted passage was formerly decorated, the walls of the central open portion being covered with painting in floral designs, but the arcades themselves do not appear to have been so elaborately adorned, while the ceiling appears to have been white. The arcade is referred

to by Muhammad Salih as the *Bazar-i-Mussaqqaf* (Covered Bazar), evidently so-called from the occupation of its bays by merchants. The central octagonal portion which is open to the sky was known as the '*chhatar manzil*,' (umbrella hall?). The historian (Md. Salih) says that 'a building like this vaulted market had never been seen before by the people of India, and that it was a new idea of the Emperor, who takes much interest in the construction of buildings.' " (Mr. Sanderson.)

From the vaulted hall you enter a courtyard, 540 × 360 feet, in which stands the **Naubat Khana** or Music Hall. This is a "handsome and well proportioned building," with a fine archway through the centre and a large open gallery for the musicians above. Here the royal band played music at stated hours which even to the foreign ears of Bernier sounded "solemn, grand and melodious."

Behind Naubat Khana is another great court at the end of which is situated,

THE DIWAN-I-AMM

or Hall of Public Audience. This is a splendid building more magnificent than its namesake at Agra. "The majesty of the engrailed arches, the fine effect of strength in the four clustered columns at the corners, and the handsome proportions of three bases, are

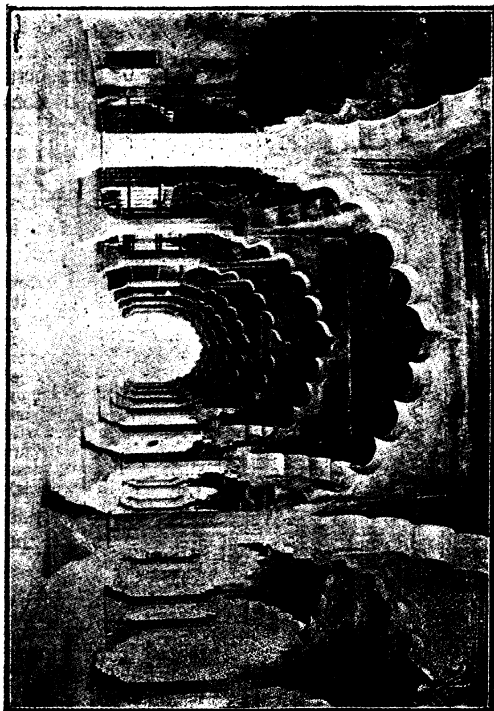
all very striking" (Fanshawe). Its dimensions are 200 × 100 feet. In its centre is a highly ornamental niche, in which on a platform of marble richly inlaid with precious stones, once stood the celebrated Peacock Throne. The mosaic work in the throne recess is extra-ordinarily rich and splendid. We have not here, as in the Alhambra, merely stucco and paint, but mosaics in precious stones of flowers, fruit, and birds.

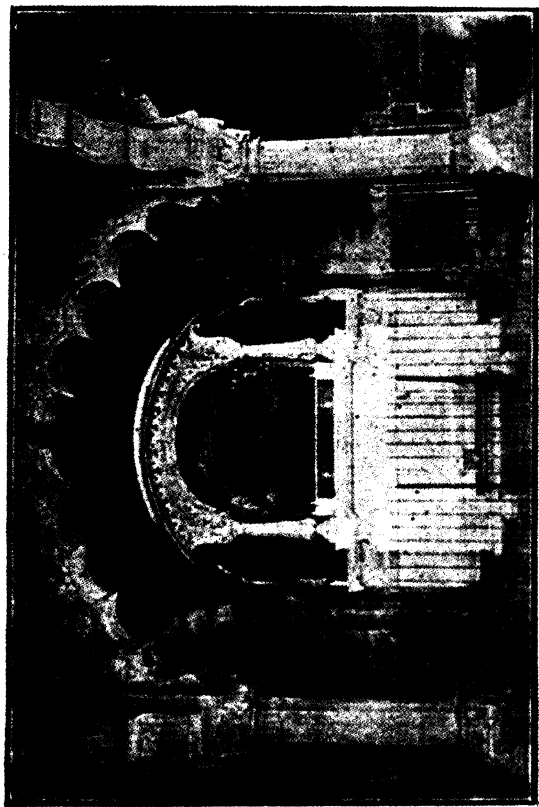
Yet search diligently for the remains; since, except in Agra, you will never find anything like it in the world. You come first to the Hall of Audience, an open redstone portico with a wall at its back, and are about to pass it. The gleam of marble arrests you. Within, against the wall, is a slab of white marble; above it a throne of the same with pillars and canopy. But it is not the marble you look at—it is the wonderful work that veils it; the throne is embroidered with mosaic. And the wall behind is a sheet of miniature pictures—birds and flowers and fruit—all picked out in paint and precious stones. (Mr. G. W. Steevens).

The contemporary historian Muhammad Salih gives the following account of the Diwan-i-Amm:—

To the west of the Imtiyaz Mahal (Rang Mahal) there is an '*aiwan*' gallery at the back of the Diwan-i-Amm overlooking the garden of that building. It is of red sand-stone, but rendered white by the multani stone (chunam.) It has received an elegant polish, like the brightness of the morning, on shell-plaster applied by skilful workmen. Near the ceiling is the *jharoka* of the Khas-o-Amm, (Diwan-i-Amm), which is the place of the people's prostration, as well as for the relief of their needs. It is built of pure marble like a pavilion (*Bangla*), 4 *gaz* by 3 *gaz*, and is supported by four

DIWAN-I-AMM—INTERIOR.





columns. Behind the *jharoka* there may be seen a niche, 7 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz*, which is famed for its various coloured stones inlaid into the wall, and which, through the skill of excellent art workers, has been adorned with many rare pictures and a railing of pure gold on three sides. This auspicious place is honoured by the Emperor, who takes his seat in it early every day. In front of this, there is a magnificent and lofty hall, supported by forty columns, and measuring 67 [*gaz*] by 24 [*gaz*]. The elegance and beauty of its walls and ceiling, painted with different colours and various pictures, have put out of countenance the work of Mani (celebrated artist). A silver railing of man's height, is erected round three sides of the hall. Outside this another spacious '*aiwan*,' 104 [*gaz*] by 60 [*gaz*], has been cut off from the enclosed court of the Khas-o-'Amm, and a railing, (*katehra*), of red sand-stone, with gilded paintings, erected at the edge of its western side. Beyond that there is an open courtyard, 204 *gaz* by 160 *gaz*, with beautiful colonnades round it to protect the people from the sun and rain. Of the three gates of this courtyard, the western gate is built of red sandstone with splendid carvings.

The vastness of the courtyard, wherein a throng of courtiers daily assembled before 'the Great Moghul,' is now suggested by a pleasant stretch of lawn, and the gorgeous colonnades, decked out in rivalry by the nobles of the realm, by screens of flowering shrubs.

PEACOCK THRONE

In the centre of this hall stood the famous Peacock Throne (*Takht-i-Taos*), an excellent description of which is given in the *Badshah Namah*.

"Since from time immemorial, and year in, year out, various jewels of great price, each of them worthy

to be an ear-ring for Venus and a belt for the sun, were kept in the Imperial Treasury; early in the beneficent reign, it had occurred to the inspired mind [of the Emperor] that the collection of such rare presents and accumulation of so many precious things, was only meant for the adornment of the Empire, and to increase its ornamentation. Therefore they ought to be used in a place where spectators might enjoy the world-enlightening beauty of the produce of the ocean and the mine, and also they should be an added lustre to the Palace. Orders were issued that all kinds of rubies, diamonds, pearls and emeralds, the value of which was estimated at two hundred *lacs* of rupees, as well as those jewels in charge of the provincial treasury officers should be brought for His Majesty's inspection, excepting only the private jewels, kept in the jewel office of the heavenlike palace.

"Great and valuable jewels, the weight of which was fifty thousand *mithqals* (equal to 1 and 3/7th drams) and the price of which was eighty-six *lacs* of rupees, were selected and entrusted to Bebadal Khan, the Superintendent of the gold-smiths' office, in order that the jewels might be studded in a slab made of one *lac* of *tolas* of pure gold, which is equal to two hundred and fifty thousand *mithqals*, and the price of which was fourteen *lacs* of rupees. This slab was $3\frac{1}{4}$ *gaz* by $2\frac{1}{2}$ imperial *gaz* with a height of 5 *gaz*.

"It was desired that the inside of the ceiling of the throne should be mostly enamelled, and the rest set with jewels, and that the outside should be adorned with rubies and other precious stones. It was to be supported by twelve emerald-coloured columns. Above the ceiling two images of peacocks set in bright gems were to be made, and between them was to be fixed a tree of rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and pearls. To ascend the throne three steps studded with beautiful gems were to be prepared.

"In the course of seven years this heaven-like throne was completed at the cost of one hundred *lacs* of rupees which is equal to three hundred and thirty-three thousand *tumans* of 'Iraq' and to four crores *f khani* current in Transoxiana. *Mavarau-u-Nahar*

"Of the eleven slabs covered with jewels and erected round the throne for leaning against, the central one on which the Emperor, a Solomon in rank, leans, by placing on it his truth-seeking hand, was estimated at ten *lacs* of rupees. And of the jewels set in the throne, there was a ruby in the centre, valued at one *lac* of rupees, which Shah Abbas, king of Persia, (1585-1628) had sent to his late Majesty (Jahangir) as a present by the hand of Zambil Beg. His late Majesty had sent it by Allami Afzal Khan to the world conquering Emperor, His Majesty, the second Lord of the happy conjunction, as a reward for 'subduing the Deccan. At first, the sublime name of His Majesty, the Lord of happy conjunction, (Timur) the pole star of the Faith and of Religion, and that of Mirza Shah Rukh, and Mirza Ulugh Beg, were written over it. After some time it fell into Shah 'Abbass' hand who also put his name on it and when it was received by his late Majesty, he added his own name with that of his illustrious father. Now it has received fresh light and brightness, and inestimable adornment from the exalted name of the King of the Seven Climes, and the Emperor of Throne and Crown."

Behind Diwan-i-Amm is a large court in which are now laid out four grass lawns.

In the centre of this court is placed the **Marble Basin**, hewn out of a single block of marble. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan says that 'in front of the central door (of Rang Mahal) towards the court there is a big tank of one piece of durable marble, into which a sheet of water, three gaz broad, falls from a height of one and half gaz.' At the eastern end of the court is the

RANG MAHAL

or the Palace of colours. Mr. Sanderson says

“all the walls were carefully examined for traces of old colour decoration, and such as was found justifies the name the building bears, ‘the Palace of Colour.’ It appears that gold was used profusely in the decoration of the main hall, while for the small rooms at the north and south end of the building glass ornamentation was freely introduced.”

Rang Mahal and other palaces are all in one line abutting on the eastern wall of the Fort along the bank of the river Jumna. To the north of the Rang Mahal beyond a marble open platform are the

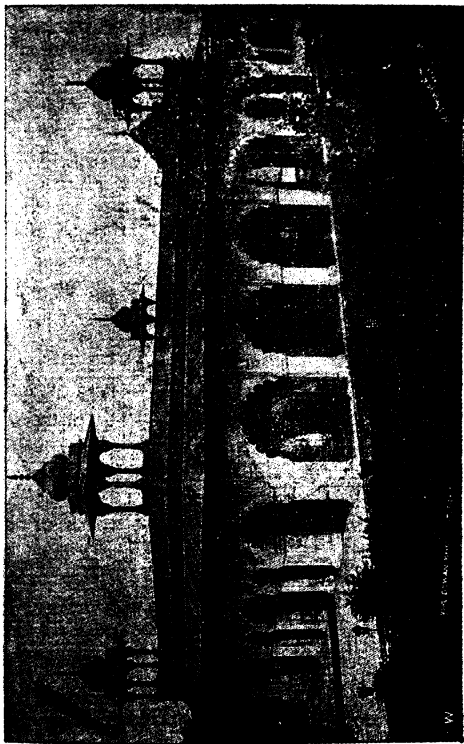
ROYAL APARTMENTS

consisting of the KHAWABGAH or Sleeping Room, GUSAL KHANA or Bath Room, the TASBIH KHANA or Prayer Room and the BAITHAK or Sitting Room. Fine pierced marble grilles are inserted in the walls over one of which is a representation of the *Mizan-i-Adal* or Scales of Justice.

The bay of this block of building on the river side is called

MUSSAMMAN BURJ

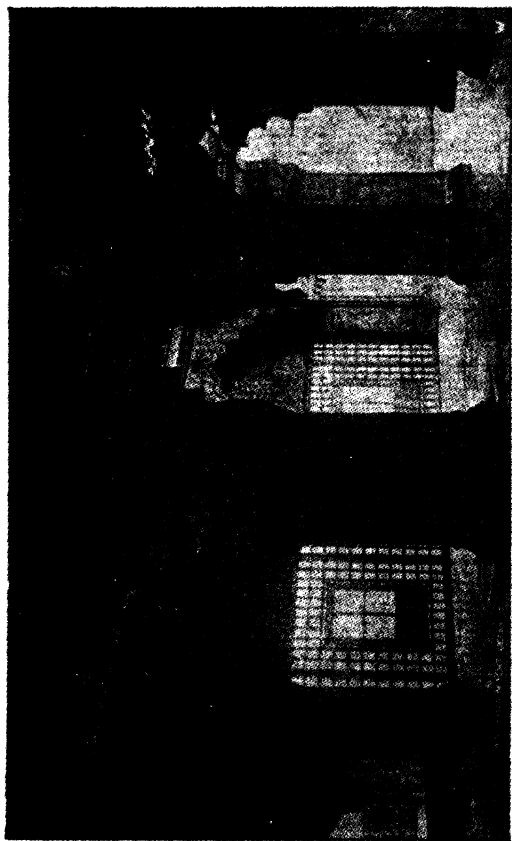
from which the Emperor used to show himself to his people and to watch the sports on the river bank, as did King Emperor George on the occasion of his coronation.

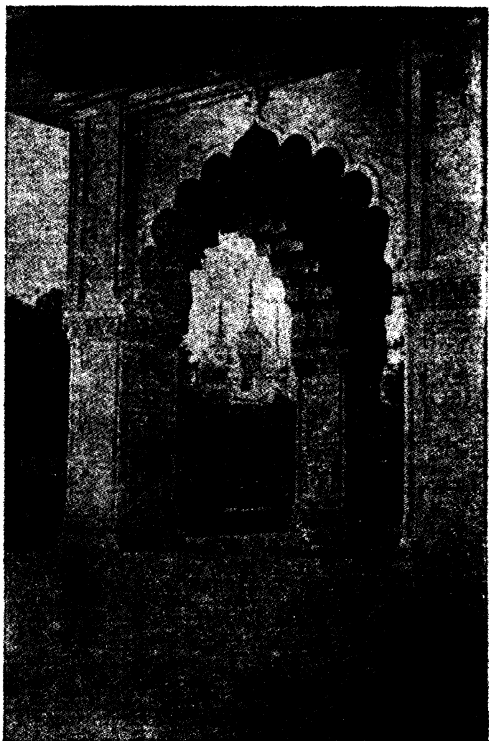


THE DIWAN-I-KHAS, FORT, DELHI.

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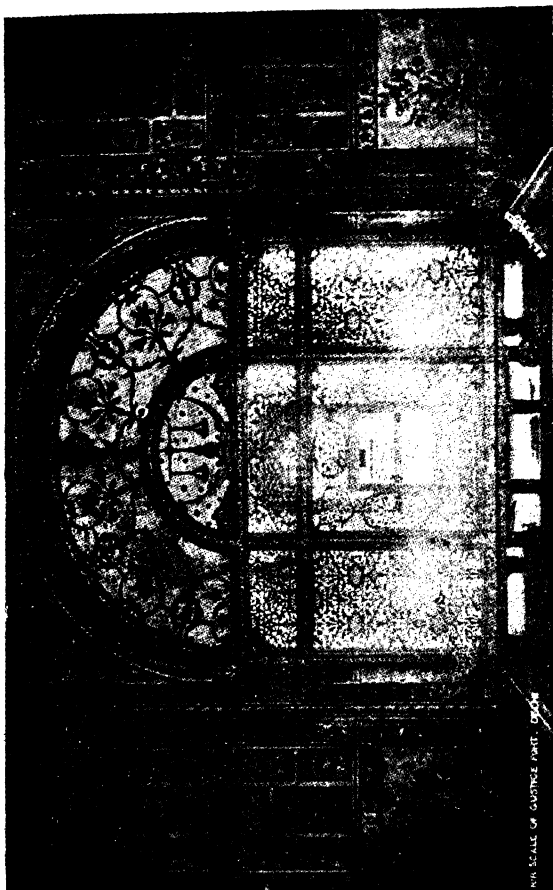
INTERIOR OF DIWAN. KHAS. FORT. DELHI.





A CORNER OF THE DIWAN-I-KHAS.

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NEW SCALE OF JUSTICE PART. 0704

DIWAN-I-KHAS

There is again an open marble platform beyond which is situated the Diwan-i-Khas. In earlier times the Diwan-i-Khas was known as Shah Mahal or Daulat-Khana-i-Khas and even, by a misnomer, as Ghul Khana. Abdul Hamid Lahori, Shah Jahan's court chronicler, tells us the purpose of such a hall, and the names by which it was known:—

“The Daulat Khana-i-Khas, by the wonderful art of expert artists, and astonishing craftsmen, has been built between the *Zanana* apartment and the Diwan-i-Amm, and the Lord, Possessor of the World, after leaving the Diwan-i-Amm, honours that delightful house, and reposes on the royal throne. Here certain important affairs of state, which are not known except to confidants and court favourites, are settled by the problem-solving attention of the Emperor's heaven-like court, and angel-like power. As this prosperous house adjoins the Hammam, it is therefore known by the name of Ghul Khana [which was given to such buildings] in the time of His Majesty Akbar. In the [present] auspicious reign it is called Daulat-Khana-i-Khas.” (Badshahnama.)

“After the splendours of this hall (Diwan-e-Amm) one may be excused for anticipating

something of an anticlimax in the next Audience Hall, the Diwan-i-Khas. One would suppose that the acme of magnificent decoration had been reached, but these apprehensions will be illfounded. This Hall of Private Audience incontestably excels the other Diwan for beauty and richness and decoration. The much-quoted Persian distich.—

‘ If there be a paradise on earth,
It is this, it is this, it is this ’—

which is inscribed over the fretted and brilliantly inlaid arches seems to give the true note. The glories of these wonderful halls seem to defy analytical description as much as do those of the Taj Mahal.” (Mr. Reynolds Ball.)

“The whole is all white marble, asheen in the sun, but that is the least part of the wonder. Walls and ceilings, pillars, and many pointed arches are all inlaid with richest, yet most delicate, colour; gold cornices and scrolls and lattices frame traceries of mauve and pale green and soft azure. What must it have been, you ask yourself, when the Peacock Throne blazed with emeralds and sapphires, rubies and diamonds, from the now empty pedestal, and the plates of burnished silver reflected all its glories from the roof. (Mr. G. W. Steevens.)”

“No palace now existing in the world,” says Mr Fergusson, “possesses an apartment of such singular elegance as this.....Nothing can exceed the beauty of the inlay of precious stones with which it is adorned or the general poetry of the design,”

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (who with his grand-father was for sometime a courtier at Bahadur Shah's court and enjoyed the title of Nawab Jawad-ud-dowla) gives the following account of Dewan-i-Khas in his book *Asurus Sanadid* which by the way, is the first book of antiquarian research written by an Indian and published in 1847 when he was Sadr Amin at Delhi in which 100 and odd buildings of Delhi are described and several inscriptions are copied by the author himself from the original ; it is the principal Indian book of reference on the ruins and architecture of Delhi.

Syed Ahmad's account of Diwan-i-Khas is as follows :—

“ To the north of Khawabgah, a big square (*chauk*), is to be seen, and to the east of this, is a platform $1\frac{1}{2}$ gaz high. In its centre is built the Diwan-i-Khas Palace. Through its centre there flows the channel called *Naha-i-Bahisht*, (Stream of Paradise) which is 4 gaz wide. In the middle of this edifice, another room, 18 gaz in length and 10 gaz in breadth, is formed by erecting square columns with a platform in the centre. Cornelians, corals, and other precious stones are inlaid in dados in which flowers and foliage have also been carved. From dado to ceiling it is adorned with golden work. Its windows on the river side are closed by finely carved screens, the perforations of which are filled with glass. To the west of this there is a courtyard, 70 gaz \times 60 gaz, round which rooms and arches of red sand-stone have been built, and to the west of this is an entrance which was connected with the Diwan-i-Aam by a passage. In front of the entrance a red curtain is fixed up. At

the time when the Durbar is held, all the Amirs perform the ceremony of obeisance from this place. There is another gateway, to the north of this courtyard, leading to the Hayat Bakhsh Garden, and to the south is a gateway leading to the entrance of the Royal Harem. In front of the central arch of this building, towards the court-yard, a marble balustrade is erected. It is known by the name of *Chaukhand-i-Diwan-i-Khas*. Its ceiling was of pure silver, but in the raids of the Marathas and Jats it was torn off."

Muhammad Salih says that 9 *lacs* were spent on the silver decoration of the ceiling. Ahmad Shah's contemporary historian says that "it was from off the Diwan-i-Khas that Badu, the Maratha Peshva on account of his mean nature and the narrowness of his mind, took the silver of its ceiling, and turned it into money."

Leaving the Diwan-i-Khas and crossing another open marble platform you enter the last existing building called

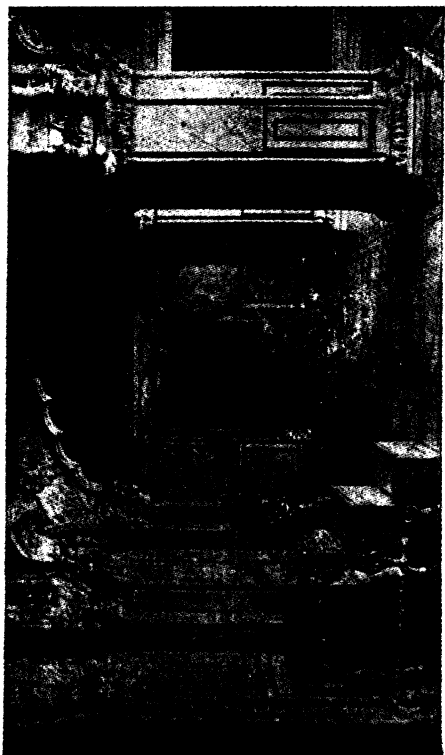
THE HAMMAM

or the Royal Baths consisting of three compartments. The floors are paved and the basins lined with marble in various charming designs. An open narrow Channel water, **Nahar-i-Bahisht**, runs from this Hammam through Diwan-i-Khas and Khawahgab over the three intervening open marble platforms to Rang Mahal. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan says that the Hammam was never warmed after



MOTI MUSJID—EXTERIOR.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
Calcutta—1823 916



MOTI-MUSJID—INTERIOR.

the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, and adds that 125 maunds of firewood were required to heat it.

MOTI MUSJID

South of the Hammam beyond the intervening road is the Moti Musjid or Pearl Mosque.

After this chaste magnificence you may refresh your eye with the yet purer beauty of the Moti Musjid, the Pearl Mosque, a fabric smaller than a racquet court, walled with cool grey-veined marble, blotched here and there blood-red. Just a court of walls moulded in low relief, with a double row of three arches supporting a triple-domed roof at its end—simple, spotless, exquisite.—(Mr. G. W. Steevens.)

Shah Jahan seems to have built no mosque in the Fort, the Jama Masjid being his place of worship. Aurangzeb, however, says the contemporary historian Mohammed Kazem in *Alamgir Namah* wished that “near the private bed chamber, a small mosque should be built, and a graceful place of worship erected, so that at various times of the day and night, after a short walk from the blessed bed-chamber to the sacred place of worship, he might partake of the service of holy God, and the worship of the Lord of Lords, at his ease, and without the trouble of a retinue or long journey. Therefore to the north of the blessed Ghushkhanah between the building of this beautiful and glorious palace, and its paradise-like garden,

(known by the name of Hayat Bakhsh), a piece of land was selected for this noble edifice, and, with the Divine assistance, an auspicious mosque of white marble was built." The foundations were laid by the Emperor's orders on the 3rd day of Rabi-us-sani, "while he was shooting and hunting on the bank of the river Ganges." The date of the completion of this holy building—the abode of angels—was discovered by Aqil Khan, the ablest servant of the Court in the following verse of the Quran: —

‘Verily the places of worship are set apart unto God, wherefore invoke not any other therein together with God.’

This chronogram was, the historian adds, approved by the King, and "according to the supreme order it was carved in a stone slab in that holy place." This inscription is unfortunately no longer traceable.

The line of building appear to have continued north of the Hammam up to the Shah Burj but all of them have disappeared or removed. "Excavations" says Mr. Sander-son "revealed traces of these and of a retaining wall which ran along its western face. The backing of this wall was found and has been preserved by Mughal brick masonry with recessed pointing. This wall ran from the north wall of the Hammam to the Shah Burj, but it has been impossible to continue

its alignment beyond a point opposite the **Hira Mahal** owing to the presence of the gun battery and military road which gives access to it. Negotiations are, however, on foot for the removal of these, and it will then be possible to continue the wall along to its termination near the Shah Burj, in place of the grass bank which has been temporarily made here. The removal of the battery may bring to light traces of the pavilion named the **Moti Mahal** (Pearl Palace) that formerly existed here. The whole terrace has now been grassed and the outlines of the water channel named the Nahr-i-Bahisht (Stream of Paradise), disclosed by excavation, have been defined by Mughal bricks on edge."

HIRA MAHAL was a marble pavilion built by Bahadur Shah II in 1842 A. D.

SHAH BURJ

Primarily it must be remembered that the pavilion is only a part of the Shah Burj erected by Shah-jahan. The "Burj," or "Tower" itself, lies behind it and is entered from the small room on the east side of the pavilion. The building is situated in the extreme north-east corner of the "Life-bestowing" Garden and at the end of the terrace overlooking the low-lying and between the Fort and the Jamna. The little marble pavilion consists of a central compartment flanked by two small rooms, with a "verandah" of five bays on its south side, the central bay being rather larger than the others. In the central compartment is a square tank, with a "scolloped" basin, which was found hidden under the modern floor. Water came to the Shah Burj through an aquaduct.

which ran along the north side of the Hayat Bakhsh Garden, and entered the pavilion at the back of the central niche.

A small portion of the sloping slab, with its peculiar sunk pattern, was found in position, where it joined the edge of the marble basin. . . . Over this slab the water flowed down from the Shah Burj and fell into the tank.

The square framing of the tank is ornamented with *pietra dura* work, as are the spandrels at its four corners. The dado shows traces of the marble balustrade, about 3 feet 6 inches in height, which flanked the tank on its east and west sides. How well did the Mughals understand artistic comfort ! The water rippling down the sloping cascade and plashing into marble basin must have often soothed the Monarch weary with affairs of state, and delighted the ladies of the Seraglio.

From the tank, the water passed into a shallow rectangular basin of white marble, 9 feet 6 inches in width, the marble slabs composing it being cut so as to present a peculiar curvilinear pattern. . . . Thence the water ran into the Nahr-i-Bihisht, or "Stream of Paradise" which flowed in an ornamental channel along the east terrace of the Fort to the "Royal Baths," and on through the building which formed the private apartments of the Palace.

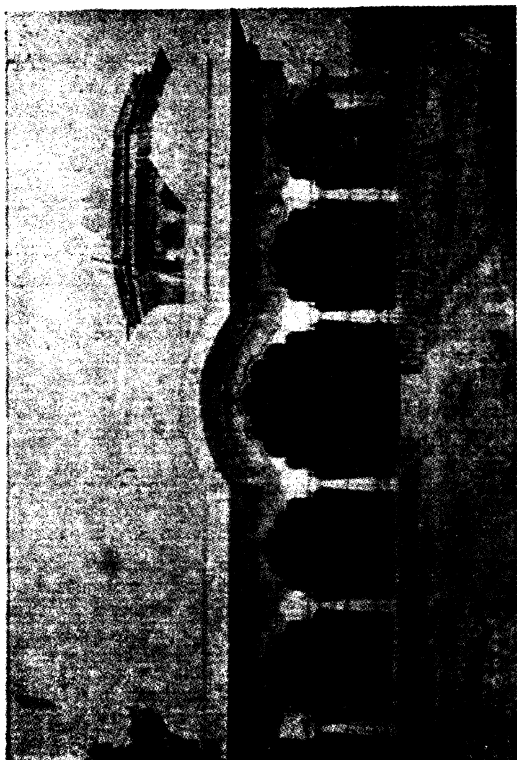
The domes constructed of brick and rendered outside with polished *chunam* have, by the replacement of their finials and lotus-leaf crestings, been restored to their original condition. The domes do not represent the internal arrangement and are constructed most probably for effect, and perhaps partly to keep the building cool. The central compartment, higher than the others, is ceiled by a vault of "Bengali" type.

The Rohillas passed three days in digging up the floors for treasure which they supposed had been hidden in the palace by the Emperor Shah 'Alam, whom they blinded, when their quest proved vain. (Mr. George Sanderson in the Archæological Survey Report for 1908-09.)

ZAFAR MAHAL AND SAWAN BHADON, FORT.



ASIATIC SOCIETY
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The following description, from the Asar-us-Sanadid, gives a good idea of the tower in its pristine condition.

"This tower," says Syed Ahmed, "is also a wonderful building. Its structure is three-storeyed. The first storey is built on a plinth 12 *gaz* above the ground. Its ceiling is round inside and flat from above. The building is wholly of stone. It is built of marble to the dado, with a work in mosaic and stones of various colours, and from the dado to the ceiling it is made white with the Pathani stone and has gilt foliage. This storey is octagonal and its diameter is 8 *gaz*. It contains four niches and two semioctagonal seats overlooking the river. Its front is of marble. In the middle of the octagonal storey there is a tank with a diameter of 3 *gaz* so charming and extremely beautiful that on a view of its decorative work the intellect is at a loss and calls to mind the work of God. In the western niche there is a waterfall and small arched niches, wherein flowers are placed in the day time and lamps at night.—In front of this waterfall there is a tank of marble $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz*. From this tank to the edge of the eastern niche there is a canal $1\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* wide, wholly of marble, very fine with a work of mosaic and relief The building of the third storey is a domed pavilion with eight pillars. Its dome is of marble with a golden pinnacle. In short, this building is very magnificent."

HYATH-BUKSH GARDEN

Within the Fort there were several beautiful gardens of which only two survive but in name—the HYATH-BUKSH BAGH or "Life-giving Garden" and the MAHTAB BAGH or "Moon Garden."

"These gardens formed two separate enclosures treated in one design: the first was a square of about 500 feet, the second garden court was the same length and about three hundred and fifty feet across. The larger of the two was laid out more particularly as a water garden. The centre was occupied by a big bathing tank with a baradari surrounded by fountains in its midst. Four canals radiated from this reservoir, two of them being filled at their far ends by streams running in through two charming little marble water pavilions. These buildings still exist and are called the Bhadon and the Savon from the fact that their sheets of water falling over recesses for lights suggested the showers and lightning of the rainy season. Along the terrace walk on the ramparts ran a water parterre with a fountain in each of its little beds; this finished on the north side in another larger building called the Shah Burg. Here there is a lovely fountain basin and a deeply carved white marble water-chute." (*Mrs. Villiers Stuart in "Gardens of the Great Mughals."*)

ZAFAR MAHAL

The pavilion standing¹ in the centre of the Hyath Baksh Garden under which the stream flows from Bhadon to Savon Pavilion is the Zafar Mahal built by Bahadur Shah whose poetical name was Zafar.

MUMTAZ MAHAL

Some distance to the south of Rang Mahal is Mumtaz Mahal which was formerly occupied by royal ladies. The Military converted it first into a prison and finally into a sergeants' mess. It has now been restored. "As it stands, the Mumtaz Mahal takes its place without shame amongst the othe

buildings in the area." (Mr. Sanderson) "Although this building was very fine, elegant and beautiful," says Sir Syed Ahmed, "yet it underwent alterations by the late Mirza Jahangir Bahadur, which disfigured the style of Shah Jahan's structure."

STONE ELEPHANTS

When returning by the Delhi Gate you will notice that the Stone Elephants which were pulled down by Aurangzeb and were lying elsewhere have been restored to their former position.

COST OF THE PALACE

Bakhtawar Khan, writing in the reign of Aurangzeb, gives the cost of the various buildings as follows:—

Fort and buildings within it . . .	Rs. 60 lacs
Royal Mansions	28 "
Shah Mahal (Diwan-i-Khas) including silver ceiling and fittings.	14 "
Imtiyaz Mahal (Rang Mahal), with bed, chamber and surroundings	5½ lacs
Daulat Khana-Khas-o-Amm (Diwan-i-Amm)	2 lacs
Hayat Bakhsh Garden, with the Hamman.	6 "
The palaces of the Begam Sahib and other begams and royal ladies	7 "
Bazaars and squares for Imperial workshops	4 "
The Fort and its moat	21 "

Workmen's wages amounted to one crore of rupees.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GARDENS OF DELHI

MUGHAL GARDENS

On three sides of it Shahjahanabad was surrounded by several gardens and country houses of the Mughal princes, princesses and noblemen. The Mughals had a passionate love for gardening and floriculture. Babar, the founder of the dynasty, was as efficient in the art of gardening as he was accomplished in penmanship, poesy and statecraft. He had a keen eye for the beauties of nature and went into raptures whenever he beheld a charming scenery or a pretty landscape. He laid out several gardens in the short respite he had between wars and battles and his successors excelled him in this art. We have already seen in the **Bagh round Humayun's Tomb** the plan of a Mughal Garden.

“The invariable water course, with raised paths on either hand, leads up from the gateway to the mausoleum. Instead of the usual simple plan—the four long waterways—the garden is made up of a labyrinth of little channels. These form an inner and an outer square enclosing the high platform of the tomb, ornamented wherever the paths cross each

other, with a small tank, sometimes on the same level, sometimes sunk in the centre of a raised chabutra. The numerous little tanks are outwardly square, with a lower inside ledge of stone, modifying them into oval, octagonal, or round water basins, the whole effect being reminiscent of the shallow fountains and narrow water courses of the earliest gardens in Kashmir... At one or two places in the side walls, there are water chutes, where the water, which has been lifted up from great wells outside, rushes foaming down the carved stones into the garden. These marble or stone chutes were carried in various patterns, cut ingeniously at an angle so that the water running over them was thrown up and broken into ripples and splashes. Shell and wave designs were favourite..... These water chutes are a very characteristic feature of the Mughal gardens, and were used with such effect where the ground allowed of the garden being laid out in a series of high terraces. But in small gardens, or in the plains, even the slightest slope was made use of; only a foot or two of difference sufficed to create one of these charming little waterfalls, whose inspiration was directly drawn from memories of the dancing spray and white foam of mountain rivulets in the builder's northern home." (*Gardens of the Great Mughals* by Mrs. C. M. Villiers Stuart).

In Sufdar Jung's Garden laid out two hundred years later, the old form is still maintained.

"The style, however, is still pleasing, and is well suited to the climate; but, on the other hand, it has become rather a cold, dull formality, different from the variety and adaptability of the earlier designs." (Mrs. Villiers Stuart.)

We have noticed **Queen's Gardens** in Chapter XV on page 121 and **Hyat Baksh and Mahtab Garden** in Chapter XVI on page 145.

SHALIMAR GARDENS

Six miles to the north-west of Delhi, along the great Trunk Road, lie the remnants of an extensive garden built in imitation of the famous Shalimar gardens of Kashmir and Lahore by one of Shah Jahan's wives, Aa'zzan Nissa known as Bibi Akbarabadi. Mohamed Saleh, a contemporary historian, says that the garden was finished in four years at a cost of two lakhs of rupees; and it was here that Aurangzeb was hastily crowned. The garden, being royal property, was confiscated and sold after the revolt of 1857. It consists of four parts, two of which still have the appearance of a garden, and a half-ruined Baradari stands at the south-west corner of the garden.

MUBARAK BAGH

On the same Trunk Road between Shalimar garden and the city is another "quaint survival of the days of the older Badshahi," the MUBARAK BAGH.

"This garden is the property of an Oudh Nawab, who recalled the fact that one of the Mughal Emperors gave it to his family on condition of supplying the Court with dais of vegetables, fruits and flowers. He cannot now fulfil the terms of his tenure; but lately he has allowed the enclosure to be partly used as a botanical garden and nursery for young plants in connection with the building of the New Delhi." (Mrs. Villiers Stuart.)

ROSHANARA BEGAM'S GARDENS

Nearer the city to the west of Sabzi Mandi or "the vegetable market," are ROSHANARA BEGAM'S GARDENS which were laid out by Roshanara Begam, one of the daughters of Shah Jahan. She lies buried in

"an elaborate white pavilion with creeper clad walls, standing on a low wide platform in the centre of the upper terrace in the gardens still called by her name. A raised canal, something after the style of the broad water courses at Safdar Jang's mausoleum, but bordered by beds of flowers and still ornamented with a row of little fountains, leads from this building to the entrance gate.....The prospect through the dark, tiled archway is charming; on either side large shady trees shut in and concentrate the eye on the distant view of the pavilion with its walls and pillars half concealed in wreaths and festoons of growing purple bougainvillæa. Every detail is reflected clearly in the placid dark green water of the long canal...But once inside the gateway the whole effect is spoilt by the modern carriage drives and the loss of the three of the four canals. Green depressions mark the course of two of them, while a third is lost in a maze of ugly, shapeless flower-beds and gravel-paths." (Mrs. Villiers Stuart).

TALKATORA BAGH

"One more old garden outside Delhi—a garden, even in its ruins full of romantic charm—shows by its skilful choice of site, its plan so closely in harmony with the genius of the place, that Babar's great secret of success in garden-craft had not been forgotten when Talkatora Bagh was built. It lies on the lower slopes of the Ridge to the south of modern Delhi. Its walls and corner towers and three big gateways give it from outside an air of being still under cultivation, but within, it is only just possible to discover, through the scrub and thorn bushes that overrun the whole

enclosure, the low terraces into which the garden was divided. The cosmic cross of the watercourses can be faintly traced with the ruins of a large baradari standing in the centre. The hummum (baths) are built after the usual fashion, into one of the side walls, and directly opposite these buildings a large tank once occupied the middle of the terrace square. So far, apart from its division into shallow terraces, it is just the usual Indian garden of the plains, delightful, appropriate, but much resembling many others. Then, through the trees at the far end of the garden, is perceived one of those elements of surprise and contrast which lend so magical a charm to these formal Mughal baghs. The upper garden wall is replaced by a long masonry terrace twenty or more feet above the lower enclosure. Immediately beneath the wall runs a wide walk, which is slightly raised above the general level, and ends on either hand in great ramps of paved brick-work leading up to the topmost terrace. This proves to be a platform about forty feet wide with octagonal towers at each end, and in the centre the remains of several buildings and living rooms; the whole terrace forming a roof-garden, like some elaborate zenana quarters in a great city palace, including pavilions to sleep in, flower-beds, and fountains."—(Mrs Villiers Stuart.)

This garden will again form one of the prominent sights of the new capital that is now being built and a description of which is given in chapter XX.

KUDSIA GARDENS

Outside the city walls, on the Jumna about half a mile north of the Kashmir Gate are the KUDSIA GARDENS. These were constructed by the Kudsi Begam mother of the Emperor Ahmed Shah, whose reign was the culminating decay of the Mughal Empire. The walls

which formerly enclosed it have been removed for the most part, and the river which once flowed under the terrace, on the east side, is now far away from it; but the fine though ruined gateway remains, and a handsome mosque, still bearing marks of the siege of 1857, stands near the south-east corner of the public recreation grounds.

CHAPTER XVIII

ENVIRONS OF SHAHJAHANABAD

SALIMGARH FORT

Salimgarh Fort lies to the north of Delhi Fort. It was built by Salim Shah, son of Sher Shah, in 1546, as a bulwark against the return of Humayun. There is nothing of interest in it except an old mosque beside the northern wall. Here Murad was at first imprisoned by Aurangzeb. Close by is the railway bridge over the Jumna, which is said to stand over the site of an older bridge built by Aurangzeb, connecting it with the Delhi Fort. Mr. Fanshawe thinks that it was more probably built by Farid Khan, who held Salimgarh in jagir, and was at one time Governor of the Punjab.

The **Railway Bridge** is at mile 953 from Calcutta, and is 2640 feet in length. It consists of 12 spans of $211\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It has the rails above and roadway for cart traffic below. The piers are built on ten wells 10 feet outside diameter, sunk 33 feet below low water level. There is also a row of walls

between the piers sunk to the same depth to prevent scour. The height from low water level to underside of girders is $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The total cost of this bridge was Rs. 16,60,355 or Rs. 639 per lineal foot. It was opened for traffic on 1st January 1867.

About half a mile north of Kashmir Gate are situated the Kudsia Gardens.

Outside the south-west corner of the Kudsia Gardens is the **Nicholson Garden** in which stands a statue erected to the great hero of the assault General Nicholson on the very spot where on the eventful 14th September he was awaiting.* At the north-west corner of Kudsia Gardens stands **Ludlow Castle**, the residence of Mr. Simon Fraser who was the Commissioner of Delhi in 1857. It is now the **Delhi Club**. Here is the **Civil Station** of Delhi where there are many bungalows mostly occupied by European Officials.

TEMPORARY IMPPERIAL QUARTERS

Till the New Capital is built up Temporary Imperial Quarters have been constructed for the use of the Government of India,

* At the head of this little column is the bugle announcing the blowing up of the Kashmir Gate. The monument is some distance from the actual spot where the General received his fatal wound but close by is the little cemetery in which he is buried.

on the Alipur Road between the Civil Station and the Ridge. The buildings are however solidly constructed of substantial material and will be useful for some purpose or other when the Government offices and official residences are removed to the new city which is being built to the south of Shahjahanabad. The **Secretariat** is a large group of buildings linked together as one, situated on the Metcalf estate.

The design is treated with a commendable breadth of handling for which work of this nature gives the architect an ample opportunity, yet with a dignity and restraint that is rather unusual, considering the temptation to a certain cheap flamboyancy to which the designer of temporary work too often succumbs—in the case of exhibition buildings for instance. It were no easy problem to give the requisite dignity to a facade of such great extent with had yet to rise no higher than one storey. In this I think success may be claimed, though it would have been all to the good if the centre portions between the towers could have been given an upper storey. As it is the one small portion which has an upper storey—the central pavilion containing the lobby to the Council Chamber, looks just a little lonely and abrupt. This, however, is a minor defect more than compensated, probably, by the convenience of the chamber (used as a library) which the upper storey contains, while it hardly conflicts with the really fine general effect *

The Council Chamber joins the central feature of the Secretariat group, and deserves a notice to itself.

* This and the following matter is taken from the Annual Report on Architectural Work in India for 1912-13, by the Consulting architect to the Government of India.

It is planned in the ordinary U form, but in the design and arrangement of the seats and benches a special effort has been made to meet the customary difficulties attending the plan of such a chamber, . . . It is satisfactory to be able to record that acoustically the chamber is perfect or as nearly so as has ever been achieved in a similar room. This may be set down to the careful proportioning of the building and to the proper choice of materials in so far as the little that is really known of building acoustics is concerned—and for the rest to good fortune, and on both accounts is a matter for congratulation. The appearance of the room is most satisfactory and the lighting has been happily managed. The furniture is in teak, the large canopied President's chair being a particularly creditable piece of work.

Flanking the Secretariat is a large **Post and Telegraph Office** broadly treated in a free Renaissance manner to correspond with that of the main group of buildings.

The Police Station has been erected near the Secretariat to the north, the lower storey being devoted to police office, lock up, etc., etc., and the upper storey providing quarters for the officer in charge. At the rear quarter are provided for sergeants, cattle pen, etc. The style of the architecture is in keeping with the other buildings.

The Press—Two large blocks have been erected to the rear of the site occupied by the Secretariat for the accommodation of the Press.

Clerks' Quarters. A number of semi-detached bungalows have been built for occupation by the Indian clerks. There are three types—A class for married clerks, providing three bed-rooms, a sitting-room and the usual outhouses in a courtyard, B class, similar but providing only two bed-rooms, and C class for single men. These are designed in a style that recalls domestic work in England—red roofs "eternit" and the walls plastered with shutters and sunshades painted green.

Viceregal Lodge. The "Circuit House" has been enlarged to serve as a temporary Viceregal Lodge, the principal addition being a new Dining-room—50' x 33' with band gallery, etc. The walls are panelled in teak and the enriched plaster ceiling has been modelled by Rai Bahadur Ram Singh from the Architect's design.

Viceregal Staff Quarters. Bungalows of varying sizes have been erected near the Circuit House for the Viceroy's staff.

Viceregal Staff Hospital. This building was erected on a site near the Circuit House road and provides accommodation for about 20 beds, with dispensary and offices. An attempt has been made to avoid the usual "Hospital style" of architecture—the exterior being treated in the same way as the bungalows with red "eternit" roofs and plastered walls.

The **Metcalf House** was built by Sir T. T. Metcalfe, Member of the Civil Service, who gallantly assisted the Military during the storming of Delhi, for which he was thanked by the Government of India. He lies buried in St. James' Church. Metcalfe House must once have been a very fine mansion, and it still rises effectively on the high bank of the Jumna. Beneath it were a number of apartments, and below the terrace on the river side of it was a series of underground rooms, arranged for occupation in the summer. It was in the latter that the refugees with whom Lieut. Vibert escaped from Delhi were concealed for a brief period by the servants of the house.

Very little has been done to the exterior of this building except colour-washing. The interior, however, has been remodelled and now provides a large Dining room, Drawing room, Smocking room, etc., etc., to be used in connection with the quarters provided for the Additional Members of Council. A fine terrace has been made overlooking the Jumna and adds greatly to the natural beauty of the situation

THE RIDGE

To the north-west of the Civil Station lies the famous RIDGE the northernmost spur of the Aravalli Mountains, which disappears from the surface of India at about this point. It affords natural protection to the city, from erosion by the river Jumna. The Ridge was the scene of many an episode in the Mutiny and on it prominently stands the **Memorial** erected to the memory of brave men who laid down their lives in the service of their Sovereign. Among other objects of interest on the Ridge are the remains of the **Kushk-i-Shikar** or "the Hunting House" of Firoz Shah which is described in Chapter X. The so-called Observatory, known as **Jahannuma** or the "World Displayer" was situated in the Kushk-i-Shikar with the **Lat of Asoka** which was broken by an explosion in the 18th century. The **Charburji Mosque** (so called because of its four corner domes) apparently stood outside this Palace. As pointed out by Mr. Fanshawe, its modern

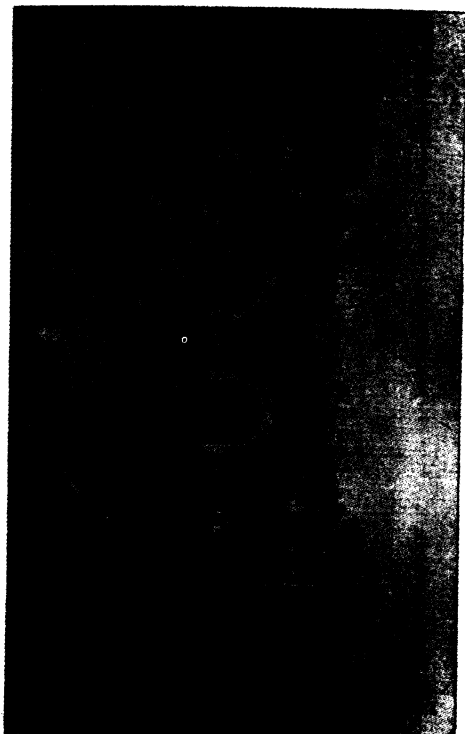
restoration has entirely destroyed its old architectural aspects.

At the northern extremity of the Ridge, is **Wazirahabad** which has the picturesque shrine of the local Saint Shah Alam, built about the middle of the 14th century.

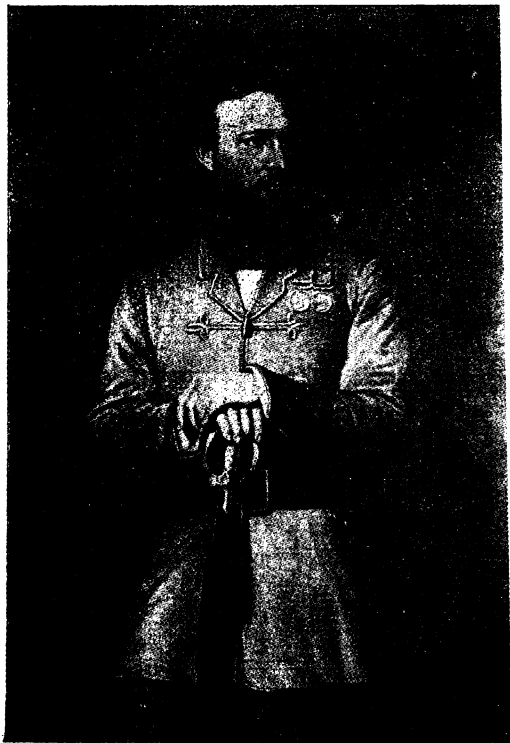
Beyond the Ridge is the **Old Cantonment**, which was destroyed in May 1857, and was occupied by the force beseiging Delhi from June to September in that year. This is bounded on the west by the drainage canal from the Najafgarh Jhil, upon which the military cemetery of 1857 abuts. Across the canal, to the north of the high road, is the **Bawari Plain**, the site of the Imperial Assemblage of 1877, and of the scene of the Coronation Durbar of 1st January 1903 and that of 11th December 1911. This site lies one and a half mile from the Ridge. Two and a half miles further up the Grand Trunk Road, from the point where the route to the Bawari Plain diverges, is the site of the battle of **Badliki Serai**, fought on 8th June 1857 and west of the field of battle are the scanty remains of the once famous **Shalimar Gardens** (described in Chapter XVII).

To the west of the Ridge is **Sabzi Mandi** or "The Vegetable Market" and crossing the railway line to the south of the Sabzi Mandi and then the Western Jumna Canal

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we pass through the quarters of **Kishengan** and **Paharipur** adjacent to which in the south is **Sadar Bazaar**. Further south is **Kadam Sharif** noticed in Chapter X page 72. Still further south is **Paharganj**. Then we reach the site of the **New Capital** described in Chapter XX. Proceeding towards the east through the ruins of Firozabad we reach

PATPARGANJ

which is about 5 miles south-east of the city on the eastern bank of the Jumna. It is the scene of the battle of Delhi fought by Lord Lake against the Mahrattas on the 11th September 1803. This village is now nearly deserted.



CHAPTER XIX.

MUTINY SITES

"The 'Mutiny Sites,' or, to be precise, those which commemorate the many glorious episodes of the siege and assault of Delhi, are says Mr. Reynolds Ball "of course, of surpassing interest to every Englishman, and all visitors, except the small minority with whom the archæological and historical features of 'Old Delhi' are of primary importance, will not be content with less than a day for this pilgrimage."

All are supposed to be familiar with the story of this great siege, so any recapitulation of its salient features would be superfluous. It is a mistake to regard the siege of Delhi as but a single and comparatively unimportant episode in the great rebellion—a single canto, so to speak, in the great epic of the Mutiny. On the taking of the Imperial city depended the reconquest of India, and round its walls was fought the struggle for our supremacy in the East. Indeed, in the opinion of most politicians of the time it was agreed that a failure to take Delhi would mean the abandonment of India, with the exception of the great ports. No doubt, regarded solely as a military operation, the siege (which, indeed, was not strictly a siege, as the city was not, of course, invested) of Delhi is not of great importance, either from its condition or the number of troops engaged.

A climb to the top of the Mutiny Memorial on the Ridge will give visitors a good idea of the topography of this side of Delhi and of the various positions held by the troops. This monument itself is generally admitted to be an unworthy memorial of the Great Siege. It is certainly a badly proportioned and common-place structure, and has been unkindly compared to a badly drawn-out telescope. It would no doubt be considerably improved and rendered more dignified and pleasing if it were raised some twenty or thirty feet.

The position of the siege batteries on the Ridge have been carefully marked out. One which is of especial interest at the present day is the one near Ludlow Castle (at present the head-quarters of the Delhi Club), as it was to this battery that Lord Roberts was attached as a subaltern.

The great hero of the assault (General Nicholson) is now worthily commemorated in the city where he fell, as a statue has recently been erected to the famous "Nikalsain Sahib" on an appropriate site in the Nicholson Garden just outside the Kashmir Gate. It is on the very spot where, on the eventful 14th September, 1857, Nicholson was awaiting, at the head of his little column, the bugle announcing the blowing up of the Kashmir Gate.

The sculptor, Thomas Brock, R. A., (who is already represented in India by statues of Queen Victoria at Agra and Sir Richard Temple at Bombay), has chosen very felicitously this dramatic moment for his treatment of the famous General. The statue is one of Mr. Brock's finest creations, and is instinct with life and vigour. The monument is some distance from the actual spot (close to the Kabul Gate) where Nicholson received his fatal wound, but close by is the little cemetery in which he is buried.

Near the telegraph office a gateway of the old magazine is still standing. It has been preserved as a memorial, an inscription giving details of the heroic deed it commemorates.

Then the tourist should not omit, in his pilgrimage of the Mutiny Sites, to inspect the new memorial to the telegraph operators who at the peril of their lives remained at their post to warn the authorities at Umballa and Lahore. The inscription closes with the famous words of Sir Robert Montgomery: "The electric telegraph has saved India."

The real history of this famous telegram has recently been revealed through the discovery, in 1906, among the old Government Records preserved in Lahore, of the original telegram. The message runs as follows:—

Date, 11th May, 1857, from Umballa, to all stations: the following just received from Delhi: we must leave office. All the bungalows are being burnt down by the sepoys of Meerut. They came in this morning. We are off, don't roll to-day. Mr. C. Todd is dead—we think he went out this morning and has not returned yet. We heard that nine Europeans were killed. Good-bye."

The message was despatched by the signaller at Delhi to the signaller at Umballa. A copy of it was taken that same afternoon to Major-General Sir H. Barnard, C. B., Commanding Sirhind District, and he sent on a copy by post to Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, who happened to be temporarily at Rawalpindi, and another copy to General Anson, Commander-in-Chief at Simla. The message was also wired to all stations, and the copy which reached Sir John Lawrence at Rawalpindi is that still preserved among the Secretariat's records.

The rest of the story may be told in the words of Mr. Archibald B. Spens whose book, "A winter in India" (Stanley Paul & Co.) gives vivid pictures of the Mutiny Sites. Mr. Spens writes:—

To dimly understand Delhi—and for me at least Delhi begins and ends, historically, from May] to

September, 1857—it must slowly sink into the mind. Wait a moment! You gasp: “Have you seen, or forgotten, the Diwan-i-Khas? the Jama Masjid? the Naubat Khana? Not at all. But compared to the Ridge, the Kashmir Gate, the grave of John Nicholson, the masonry of Shah Jahan falls into the shaded background. Walk about Delhi. Stroll down the Chandni Chauk: what does it breathe? Commerce, tramcars, jewellery and incongruity, you reply. Perhaps to some extent, but the Mutiny is there. Journey to the tomb of the second Moghul Emperor; the Mutiny o’ershadows it. Wander through the wonderful and beautiful fort; it was taken in ’57. The whole city whispers Mutiny. Its walls exhale it; its atmosphere encircles you. . . .

I set out shortly after nine to see the fort, which absolutely delighted me. . . . Let us enter by the Lahore Gate. Here, as at the Delhi Gate, a sentry—a Royal Fusilier—paces to and fro, with goose-step tramp and scarlet coat; you pass on into the vaulted Entrance Arcade, associated in our minds as a scene of murder. For here, on the 11th of May, 1857, the first trickle of Delhi’s succeeding stream of blood was spilled in the massacre of its commissioner, collector, commandant and chaplain. . . .

Pass into the museum. The word foreshadows musty raiment and uninteresting coins; but here, if you associate Delhi with ’57, you will be charmed. Here a coloured picture speaks of the Kabul Gate and Nicholson’s fall beneath a rebel bullet; there a photograph shows us the King of Delhi in captivity; while beside it, and framed in identical style, you see the portrait of the British mutineer, Sergeant-Major Gordon. . . . look through that glass case in the centre of the room. There you will read, in his own handwriting, a letter from General Nicholson to General Wilson; and, the gem of the whole collection, you will see a dirty, stained, torn pea-jacket—the one in which John Nicholson fell, in the very hour of victory, at the Kabul Gate. . . .

You are now in the Diwan-i-Khas, the centre of latter Indian history. . . . here, just below, the mutinous troops from Meerut burst into the Zer-Jharokha to inform the distressed King of Delhi that the Mutiny had begun. . . . But now follow me to the city. . . . But here is the Chandni Chauk, the Bond Street of London, the Rue de la Paix of Paris, the Esplanade Road of Bombay. . . . Let us enter from the fort end. What is that set-back, white building on the right? The Delhi and London Bank, the house where Mr. Beresford, his wife and family were murdered on the 11th of May, 1857. Ah! Mutiny again! Yes it is written in crimson letters across the capital of India.

You wander on, and your eye falls on a well-known poster. George Robey in his battered old silk hat leers across the street at you, grins at the Kotwali, smirks on the very spot where Hodson one late September day flung down upon the pavement the all but naked bodies of the King of Delhi's sons and grandson. Here also Metcalfe hanged the rebels when the days of reckoning came. . . .

Let us for a moment walk in the city of the Moghuls—the city of Shah Bahadur Shah, the city of seething mutiny. It is the 11th of May, 1857. The 3rd Cavalry, the heralds of the succeeding swarm of mutineers, have arrived, panting, at the palace gates, to announce the massacre of the "English at Meerut" and their determination to "fight for the faith." The Delhi Bank has now been surrounded and attacked, the manager and his family are lying, slain, in the Chandni Chauk. The main-guard, the miniature fortified enclosure just inside the Kashmir Gate, runs red with the blood of British officers; and Major Abbot of the 74th N.I. piles the dead bodies on a bullock cart and despatches it to the Ridge. This is happening on the very ground to be immortalized on the 14th of September by Nicholson and his irresistible European and native troops. But wander on into the city through what was then a network of houses for about six-hundred yards, and look through the near

archway of the magazine. Within, the building is packed with guns, rifles and ammunition sufficient for a small army—and it is guarded by the Immortal Nine. Look up to-day as you stand outside the gate, and read the story of their undying fame. Lieutenant George Willoughby is in command of the magazine, two officers and six men. The gates are closed ; guns, doubly charged with grape yawn at them, facing the street ; a howitzer commands the enclosure—in all ten guns, and nine men to fire them. The mob is raging without ; the rebel troops are tramping through the narrow, tortuous streets ; Willoughby runs a fuse from the centre of the enclosure to the heart of the magazine ; Scully, one of the Nine, stands at the commencement of the trail, ready with lighted portfire in his hand. On and on the sepoys come, shouting, undisciplined and arrogant ; a summons to surrender is impudently made in the name of the King of Delhi ; a point-blank refusal is returned ; volleys of lead pour into the enclosure ; the Nine prepare for death ; scaling-ladders are run up against the walls ; the sepoys in hundreds swarm down upon Nine ; Willoughby's guns belch forth their swan song of thunder and grape, but what can Nine do against a thousand ? Bayonets flash in the sunlight ; Willoughby raises his hand, and in an instant a blast of deafening volume rends the air ; the walls of the magazine are flung to the four winds of Delhi ; sepoys and British alike are hurled in a cloud of smoke into space and death—and the magazine is, in the main, a worthless mass of swisted iron and steel.

Valour indeed ! And of the Nine, incredible to relate Willoughby, his two officers and one man escaped annihilation.

And now wander on to the Lahore Gateway of the fort. Mutiny is rampant here. See the swarm of rebels fall upon and murder chaplain, collector, commissioner and commandant. Look round from east to west, from north to south, Delhi is drunk with arrogance and blood, with anticipated freedom and present massacre.

Now it is the 7th of June. Sir Henry Barnard has won the Ridge. He has marched down from Kurnal with 2400 infantry, 600 cavalry and 22 guns. The one hundred and four days' siege of Delhi has commenced.

You must first of all understand what, actually, the Ridge is. It is a rough and very rugged mound, close on sixty feet, high, stretching for about two miles from right to left across the plain forefronting Delhi. From its nearest point where now the memorial stands, the city walls are only about 1200 yards away—say three-quarters of a mile; while from its extreme left, which rests on the Jumna River, the distance is increased to over two miles.

If you wander along the rough ground for some little distance, turn slightly to your left and head for the red sandstone memorial above you, you will shortly come to the famous Samee House Battery, commanded, as you will read for yourself on a square pillar denoting the spot, by "Captain Remington, R.A. Armament eight 9 pounders. To command ground near Moree Bastion." And when you have reached here sit down, try to imagine you are back in '57, and then contrast the situation with to-day's.

Now look through the "porthole" of the tower that faces Delhi. Away on the right lies the Lahore Gate, beyond the Burn Bastion and outflanking the village of Kishenganj. Through this gate, just beside that tall chimney-stack, Major Reed, the officer in command at Hindu Rao's House, entered the city on the 20th of September, six days after the actual assault. Then to the left you see the Kabul Gate, roughly half-way between the chimney and the Jama Masjid, where Nicholson fell, mortally wounded, in the very hour of his triumphant success. Next we come to the Moree Gate and Bastion, on which the fire of the Samee Battery was for so long concentrated, lying just to the left of the Diamond Jubilee Flower Mill chimney; the Kashmir Gate and Bastion—for ever immortalized by Home and Nicholson—are near the white cupola of St. James' Church, farther to your left: while to the extreme left, on the bank of the

Jumna, is the Water Bastion. And that finishes all we need know about the city. . . .

Now turn to your left. There is the Ridge: you are looking right along it. And here, which I am not saying in any spirit of facetiousness whatever, avoid doing what I uncommonly nearly did—fall down the unguarded stair. The pillar directly facing you is the Lat of Asoka, of great antiquity but of no present interest, having been placed here after the Mutiny. On the left of that stands the famous Hindus Rao's House, the key of the British position. Here Hindu Rao, a Mahratta of Gwalior, was once imprisoned by the East India Company; here the shells fell fast and fierce during the entire siege; and here, on the 23rd of September, 1857, John Nicholson breathed his last. To-day it is a hospital, and clean and cool it looks in its coat of white, overtopping the city on one side and on the other overlooking the distant plains that lead up to the Punjab. Then you will next see a red house, a little farther on and to the right of the white, switchback road; but pass on, it is of modern construction. Now we come to a building somewhat similar (from where we stand) to a racket court. This is the Observatory, often called the Mosque, near which the earthworks of a battery are visible to this day. Farther on lies the Chauburji Mosque, which formed the left of the British position and was utilized as a hospital for our native troops. And, lastly, that red, round, turreted building is Flagstaff Tower where on the 11th of May were huddled together a company of women and children refugees from the blood-mad city, prior to their retreat, to Amballa, Kurnal and other places of comparative safety in the north. . . .

Lastly, turn right round and look at those garden walls and houses on the left flank behind the Ridge. This is Sabzi Mandi, where some fierce fighting took place in the earlier stages of the siege, when the rebels endeavoured, but without success, to turn our flank and so imperil our position on the Ridge. . . .

Let us be brief. There were five storming columns

drawn up on the slope of the Ridge on the morning of the 14th of September.

The great Nicholson—only thirty-four years of age—was there, dressed as to coats, in that tattered, khaki jacket now resting in the fort museum; busy making his final plans, exhorting his troops to keep together, to use discretion, to spare all women and children.

He, with a thousand men, is to storm the breach on the left of the Kashmir Bastion.

Silently they marched down the slope that morning; silently and unnoticed in the darkness of the dawn they took up their final positions for the great assault. Nicholson stood apart from his troops, alone and pensive: stood where you too may stand; stood where to-day a number of native boys were playing football—in the Kudsia Garden. Jones was on the left, Champbell on the right, Nicholson in the centre. Let us first follow him. Suddenly the fifty guns cease firing as though spiked by magic; Nicholson at last raises his sword; the 60th Rifles break into a hoarse cheer and skirmishing order; the other columns commence their race with death; while a hundred guns and ten thousand rifles roar and spit from bastion and wall.

In a moment a roar announced the success of the daring race, and the right leaf, or door, of the Kashmir Gate was blown in. The bugler who had accompanied his fellow heroes sounded the advance from the ditch, when the restive troops left their cover to charge and surge through the gate in one mighty wave of bayonets and pent-up rage.

And now a moment to take breath and to permit the three columns to reform. Then on again through a labyrinth of lanes, known as Rampart Road, till the Moree and Kabul gates were won—till John Nicholson as ever, in the vanguard of the fray, fell mortally wounded as he called on his men to follow him to certain death.

And so Delhi was gradually won, and the last flicker of Moghul twilight glory was extinguished beneath the piled-up bodies of British and mutineers,

CHAPTER XX.

THE DELHI OF THE FUTURE

FOUNDATION OF THE NEW CAPITAL

His Imperial Majesty King George laid the foundation stone of the new Capital on December 15th, 1911 and when doing so he said that "it was His Majesty's desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected would be considered with the greatest deliberation and care so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient and beautiful city."

POPULATION

The population of the city at the census of 1911, just before it was made the Capital of India, was 2,32,837. It is the fifth city in British India in point of population, the three Presidency towns and Lucknow having precedence over Delhi, the population of Lucknow being 2,59,798. Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, of which Delhi hitherto formed a part, comes after Delhi with a

population of 2,28,687. The population of Delhi must have been considerable even in the days of decadence under the last Moghul ruler. The Mutiny of 1857 dealt a heavy blow to the city and its inclusion in the province of the Punjab where it held only a secondary place of importance brought on a corresponding reduction in the population also. It stood a little over a lac and half (1,54,417) in the first census of 1872. Since then it went on increasing steadily till it rose 50 per cent. in the last five decades. The following are the figures of population of Delhi for the last five censuses :—

1872	1,54,417
1881	1,73,393
1891	1,92,579
1901	2,08,575
1911	2,32,837

The population of Lucknow on the other hand fell from 2,84, 779 in 1872 to 2,64,049 in 1901 and it further decreased to 2,59,798 in 1911. The population of the other Moghul Capital, Agra, increased only by about 25 per cent. since 1872 and it fell from 1,88,022 in 1901 to 1,85,440 in 1911. Its population, however, exceeded that of Allahabad, the capital of the United Provinces, by 13,743. The population of the cantonments is included in the figures for Delhi as well as for the

other towns with which comparison has been made, the population of the Municipal town of Delhi without the cantonment is 2,29,144.

ADMINISTRATIVE ENCLAVE OF DELHI.

The present administrative enclave of Delhi under a Chief Commissioner was constituted by proclamation on October, 1st 1912. The Delhi district of the Punjab consisted of three tahsils or sub-divisions; the central tahsil, that of Delhi, and such part of the southern tahsil, Ballabgarh, as was comprised within the limits of the police post of Mahrauli, now form the entire enclave. To this area, an area of 45 square miles to the east of the Jumna has been added to serve as a grazing ground for the cattle of the city. The total area of the Province of Delhi is now 573 square miles and the total population of the Province, based on the census of 1911, is 4,12,821.

THE SITE OF THE NEW CAPITAL

A Town Planning Committee consisting of Captain G. S. C. Swinton, Chairman, and Mr. J. A. Brodie and Mr. E. L. Lutyens members, was appointed to advise on the choice of a site for, and the lay out of, the capital. Subsequently Mr. V. Lanchester was also consulted by Government on some

aspects of the question. No suitable site was found on the east of the river. The Committee then considered the site on the north of the city to the west of the Jumna where the Durbar camps were pitched. There were some advantages in selecting a site in the north but the disadvantages were overwhelming. The site was too small and much of the land liable to flooding. The Naraina plain to the south of Delhi on the western slope of the hills was also abandoned principally because the hills shut it out from all view of Delhi with which it had no connection or association and therefore could not be regarded as Delhi. The Committee finally selected a site on the eastern slopes of the above hills, to the south of Delhi and on the fringe of the tract occupied by the Delhis of the past. The paper read by Sir Bradford Leslie, the distinguished retired engineer, before the Royal Society of Arts in London, in December 1912, elicited much attention in the press and public in England. Sir Bradford had set forth the plans for building the new capital on the northern site and a fine water effect was shown by a treatment of the river Jumna. The committee was therefore asked to re-examine this site again. In their report they reviewed in great detail the arguments for and against the northern site. They said

that the soil of the northern site was poor compared with that of the southern. The latter was also healthy and had healthy surroundings whereas the former even after considerable expenditure on sanitation will never be satisfactory. The low land will have to be raised at a considerable cost. "The exigencies of fitting in the requirements to the limited area of the northern site endanger the success of a lay-out as a whole and tend to make for cramping and bad arrangement." This throws light on the fact that the Moghuls did not think it advisable to go further north beyond the present Shahjahana-bad. Shah Jahan had to make his city overlap those of Sher Shah and Feroz Shah to avoid going further north, and the Kushk-i-Shikar, or the Hunting Pavilion of Feroz Shikar on the Ridge was the only building that was constructed so far north to be used as an abode of rest after the hunt in the surrounding fields and forests.

The southern site was therefore finally adopted by the Committee. The land selected is healthy and free from liability to flood and has a natural drainage. It is not cumbered with monuments that require reverent treatment and it is within easy access of the present centre of the city.

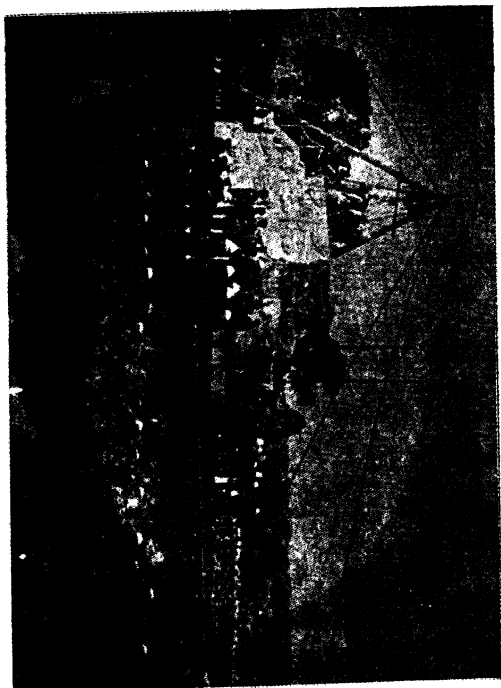
The Committee describes the site as follows :—

"Standing a little to the Delhi side of the village of Malcha, just below the hills almost in the centre of the site, and looking towards the Jumna, Shah-jahan's Delhi on the left fills the space between the ridge and the river. Following down from the present city on the foreshore of the river in Firoz Shah's Delhi, the site of Indra Prastha, Humayun's fort, Humayun's tomb and Nizamuddin's tomb take the eye in a continuous progress to the rocky eminence on which Ghiyasuddin Tughlak erected his fortress city. On the right the Lal Kot, the Kutb, the Kila Rai Pithora, Siri and Jahanpanah complete the circle of the monuments of ancient Delhi. The mid space in the foreground is filled by Safdar Jang's Mausoleum and the tombs of the Lodi dynasty, while to the left, towards Delhi, Jey Singh's gnomons and equatorial dials raise their fantastic shapes."

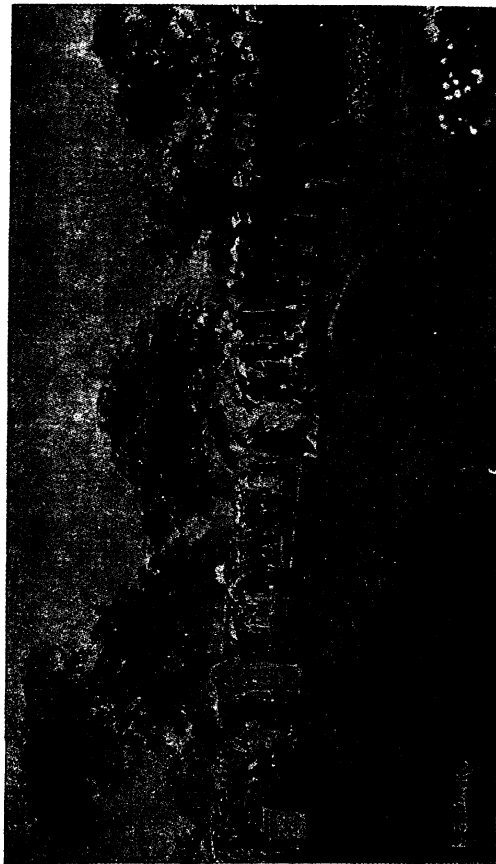
THE LAY-OUT OF THE CAPITAL

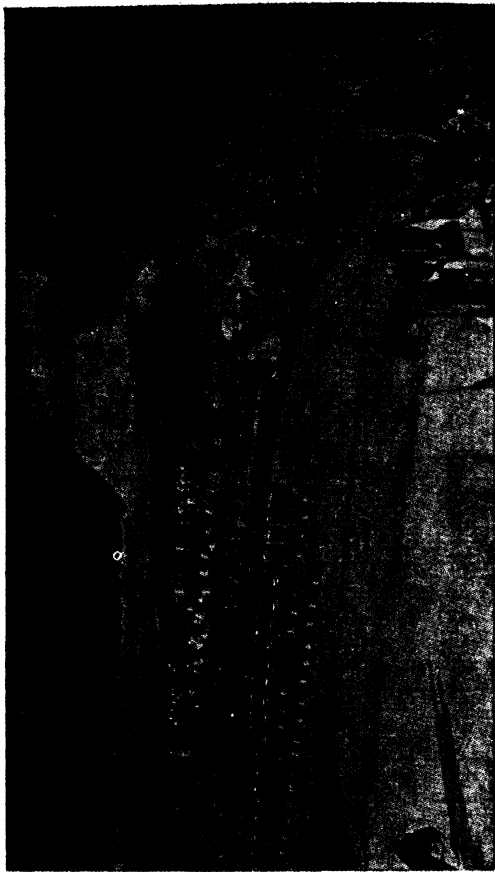
The layout of the new Capital can be better comprehended by a glance at the plan attached to this book. We shall imagine the town having been built according to the plan proposed by the Committee in their final report, dated the 20th March 1913. Let us take the road by which we had proceeded from the Ajmere Gate to the Kutub (Chapter XIV, page 97). At a point nearly midway between Jantar Mantar and Safdar Jang's Tomb we find ourselves in the central vista running east to west. It is the principal parkway 440 feet broad, something like the Champs Elysees of Paris. Looking from here westward through the avenue and beyond the semicircular piazza called the Great Place and the Viceroy's Court you command a fine view

HIS MAJESTY LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE ALL-INDIA MEMORIAL.

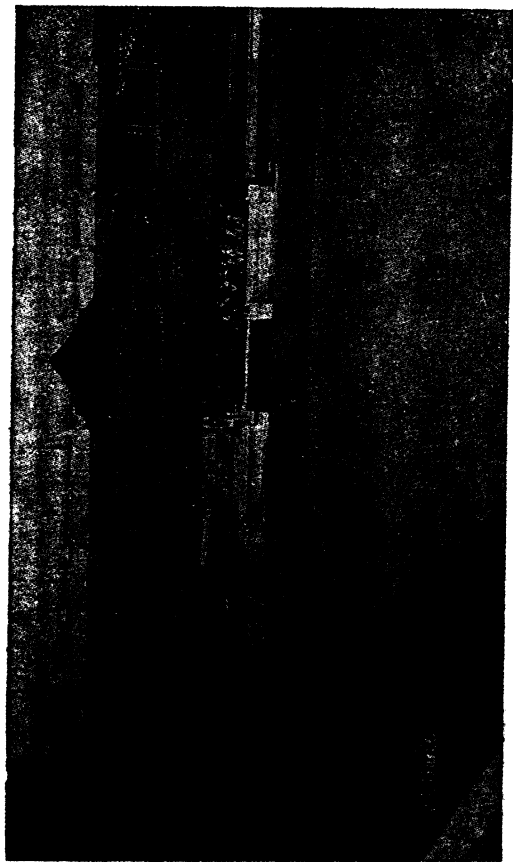


THEIR MAJESTIES IN PROCESSION AFTER LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE ALL-INDIA MEMORIAL.





STATE ENTRY : THE ROYAL PROCESSION AT THE PAVILION IN FORT



NATIVE PRINCES PAYING HOMAGE TO HIS MAJESTY.

of the Government House a majestic pile of buildings standing at the end of a high platform or forum on the eminence of the Raisina hill approached by a wide flight of steps and surmounted with a large dome. It is flanked on either side by the large blocks of the Secretariat. The Southern Ridge (which is not to be confounded with the famous Ridge in the north) with a spacious Amphitheatre and a Tower on the edge of the Water Reservoir make a noble background to the Government House.

Standing in the portico of the Government House and facing east you see "right and left the roadways go and weld into one, the empire of to-day with the empires of the past and the business and lives of its people." Your vista to the east ends on the gateway of the Purana Kila and you see the Jumna and the great plain beyond it. But before reaching that horizon your eyes are arrested by a stately colonnade entered by three large gateways standing in the centre of the six sided Place at the end of the central avenue, which commemorates the Indian heroes of the Great War. Hindu and Musalman, Sikh and Gurkha, Jat and Mahratta, have their respective niches in the base of the War Memorial.

STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE

A great controversy, nicknamed "the battle of the styles," raged over the question of the style of the proposed buildings. One school advocated that the design should be entirely Indian in keeping with the surrounding architecture, but the other school thought that the buildings would not be a suitable monument of the British rule if their design is not inspired from the West as is the British Raj itself. The high cost of the materials which must be employed if the architecture is to be in keeping with Moghul palaces was also a factor to be reckoned with in arriving at a decision. Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker have prepared provisional drawings called Warrant Designs which were exhibited at the Royal Academy of London in 1914. In these they have carried out their idea "to express, within the limit of the medium and of the powers of its users, the ideal and the fact of British rule in India of which the New Delhi must ever be the monument." Attempt has been made to introduce distinctive Indian features into the designs which are Western in their main outlines. A great Durbar Hall roofed with a huge dome is placed in the centre of the Government House building. The State Rooms are grouped round the

Durbar Hall. In the right wing is the Chamber of the Legislative Council and the left corresponding wing contains the private suites of the Viceroy.

COST OF THE NEW DELHI

It was at first estimated that the building of the New Delhi would cost four millions sterling but the revised estimates submitted in March 1914 give the following figures:—

- (a) Salaries and Allowances, Rs. 70,18,700.
- (b) Travelling Allowances of Officers and Establishments, Rs. 6,30,000.
- (c) Supplies, Services and Contingencies, Rs. 3,78,600.
- (d) Works Expenditure, (1) Buildings, Rs. 3,59,87,200, (2) Communications, Rs. 29,91,800, (3) Parks and Public Improvements Rs. 27,34,500, (4) Electric Light and Power, Rs. 43,40,700, (5) Irrigation, Rs. 27,49,000, (6) Water Supply, Sewerage, Drainage, etc., Rs. 73,77,900. (7) Purchase of Tools and Plant, Rs. 35,50,600, (8) Survey Camps and General Preliminary Expenditure, Rs. 42,82,100, (9) Maintenance during Construction, Rs. 20,09,000.
- (e) Acquisition of Land taken up, Rs. 36,48,200.
- (f) Other Miscellaneous Expenditure, Rs. 6,000.

Deduct anticipated recovery from tools and plant, Rs. 10,00,000.

These figures when added up make an aggregate total of Rs. 7,67,04,300, or £5,113,620, but said His Excellency "as we are anxious to face our liabilities for starting the new City to the fullest extent possible we consider it necessary to make a special provision for contingencies and unforeseen expenditure in excess of the usual provision that has been made of 5 per cent.

on the works outlay, by adding a sum of one and a half crores or £1,000,000. We have accordingly a very large reserve to meet future possibilities, which we are not able to foresee at present. I should add that the expenditure of this additional crore and a half on unforeseen contingencies will be strictly controlled by the Government of India and no part of it spent unless absolutely necessary. On the other hand the project estimate contains certain items such as land, residences, water supply, electric power, irrigation, on which recoveries in the form of rent for taxes will in addition to meeting current expenditure partially at any rate cover the interest on capital outlay, while there are other items on which sum return account of the sale of leases, general taxes, and indirect receipts may be excepted." A re-allocation of the details of this estimate, effected in 1916-17, while varying the provision under sub-heads, does not affect the total.

TEMPORARY BUILDINGS

During the period that the new Capital is being built up temporary buildings have been put up for the use of the Government of India. They are on the Alipur Road between the Civil Station and the Ridge and are described in the Chapter XVIII.

APPENDIX A

DELHI DURBARS

THE DURBAR OF 1877.

Lady Betty Balfour in her history of *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration* has set out in great deal the object and origin of the First Proclamation Durbar held at Delhi in 1877. Her account is an exceedingly interesting one, and as it is our chief authority on the subject, we make no apology for briefly summarising here what she has recorded. Writing of the causes that led to the institution of the Proclamation Durbar in India, she says :—

“ When the administration of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Sovereign, it seemed in the eyes of her Indian subjects and feudatories that the impersonal power of an administrative abstraction had been replaced by the direct personal authority of a human being. This was a change thoroughly congenial to all their traditional sentiments, but without some appropriate title the Queen of England was scarcely less of an abstraction than the Company itself. The only Indian word corresponding to the English Queen—namely, *Malika*—was one commonly bestowed on the wife of an Indian Prince and therefore entirely inapplicable to the true position of the British Sovereign in India. The title of Empress

or Padshah could alone adequately represent her relations with the States and Kingdoms of India and was moreover a title familiar to the natives of the country, and an impressive and significant one in their eyes.

Embarassments inseparable from the want of some appropriate title had long been experienced with increasing force by successive Indian administrations, and were brought, as it were, to a crisis, by various circumstances incidental to the Prince of Wales's visit to India in 1875—76, and by a recommendation on the part of Lord Northbrook's Government that it would be in accordance with fact, with the language of political documents, and with that in ordinary use, to speak of Her Majesty as the Sovereign of India—that is to say, the paramount power over all, including Native States.

It was accordingly announced in the speech from the throne in the session of 1876, that whereas while the direct government of the Indian Empire was assumed by the Queen no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the Sovereign. Her Majesty deemed that moment a fitting one for supplying the omission, and of giving thereby a formal and emphatic expression of the favourable sentiments which she had always entertained towards the princes and people of India.

By August 1876 the proposed scheme for the proclamation of the new title had been drawn up and had received the cordial support of the Viceroy's Council in India.

The translation of the new title in the vernacular was a matter for careful consideration and consultation. The Government of India finally decided to adopt the term *Kaisar-i-Hind*. It was short, sonorous, expressive of the Imperial character which it was intended to convey, and a title, moreover, of classical antiquity, the term *Kaisar-i-Room* being that generally applied in Oriental literature to the Roman Emperors and still representing the title of Emperor throughout Central Asia.

It was, moreover, decided that the new title should be announced at a great assemblage on the historical plain near Delhi, on January 1, 1877—in the presence of the heads of every government in India; of 1200 of the noble band of civil servants; of 14000 splendidly equipped and disciplined British and native troops; of seventy-seven of the ruling chiefs and princes of India, representing territories as large as Great Britain, France and Germany combined; and of 300 native noblemen and gentlemen besides. Altogether 68,000 were invited and did actually reside in Delhi and in its surrounding camps during the fourteen days of the Assemblage.

Services hitherto inadequately recognised were rewarded: pensions enjoined by ancient native families whose unquestioned loyalty had rendered them deserving of assistance were increased; numerous increased salaries for life were granted to the principal native chiefs; and to each chief entitled to a salute was presented, in the name of the Queen and with all due ceremony, a large silken banner bearing on one side the Royal Arms and on the other his own. The banners were of diverse colours, varying according to the rank of the chief, and were to be carried hence-forth at all State ceremonials in front of those to whom they were given. Gold and silver medals commemorative of the day were also struck and delivered respectively to each chief and to other selected persons from Her Majesty. Honorary titles were conferred—a reward very dear to the native mind—on more than 200 native noblemen and gentlemen; a large number of certificates of honour were presented to native and other gentlemen throughout India holding such offices as honorary magistrates and members of municipal councils; the pay and allowances to the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the native army in India were increased, and a large number of appointments were made to the Order of British India.

There remained the more difficult task of devising some appropriate recognition on the part of Government of the claims of the British portion of the com-

munity, representing the power by which the Empire had been won and maintained in the past, and on which it depended for its consolidation and advancement in the present. The question was long and carefully considered, more especially as Lord Lytton was personally anxious that some such recognition should be made. Insuperable objections, however, were raised to some of the more material suggestions made by the Viceroy and it proved impossible finally to do more than give some appointments to the Order of the Star of India; to create an Order specially open to non-official classes, now known as the 'Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire'; to improve in some degree the position of British officers serving in native regiments; and to give a day's pay to the seamen and soldiers serving the Queen-Empress within Indian limits on the day of the Proclamation.

Three large pavilions had been specially erected for the occasion, at some distance outside and overlooking an extensive plain to the north of the city of Delhi. The largest of these pavilions, which was semi-circular in form, about 800 feet long, facing the Viceregal throne, was occupied by the Governors of Madras and Bombay, the ruling chiefs present at Delhi with their principal attendants, and the various high officers of Government, all of whom were seated in such a manner that the native chiefs were intermingled with the high officials. The two other pavilions erected to the rear, right and left, of the Viceroy's throne were occupied by a large concourse of spectators, including the Governor-General of the Portuguese settlements in India, the Khan of Khelat, the Foreign Envoys and Consuls, and European and native noblemen and gentlemen from all parts of India. The British troops, European and Native, were drawn up in a vast circle on the plain around.

The Viceroy arrived at the place of assemblage a little after noon, and was received with a royal salute from the troops assembled. On arriving at the grand entrance the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Lytton and the members of his personal Staff, alighted from

his carriage and, preceded by his Staff, advanced in procession to the dais.

His Excellency, wearing the collar, badge, and robes of the Star of India, was received by the whole assembly standing, the massed bands drawn up close by playing the National Anthem until he had taken his seat on the dais. The Proclamation formally declaring Her Majesty the Queen to be Empress of India was then read in English by the Chief Herald and afterwards in Urdu by the Foreign Secretary. At its conclusion 101 salutes of artillery, intermingled with *feux de joie* from the assembled troops, were fired; the Royal Standard was hoisted, and the bands again played the National Anthem. After a brief pause the Viceroy rose and delivered the following speech:—

LORD LYTTON'S DURBAR SPEECH

On the first day of November, in the year 1858, a Proclamation was issued by the Queen of England, conveying to the Princes and People of India those assurances of Her Majesty's good will which, from that day to this, they have cherished as their most precious political possession. The promises then made by a Sovereign, whose word has never been broken, need no confirmation from my lips. Eighteen years of progressive prosperity confirm them; and this great assemblage is the conspicuous evidence of their fulfilment. Undisturbed in the enjoyment of their hereditary honours, protected in the prosecution of their lawful interests, both the Princes and the People of this Empire, have found a full security for the future in the generosity and justice of the past. We are now assembled to proclaim the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress of India; and it is my duty, as Her Representative in this Country, to explain the gracious intentions of Her Majesty, in adding that title to the style and dignity of Her ancestral Crown. Of all Her Majesty's possessions throughout the world,—possessions comprising a seventh part of the earth's surface, and three hundred millions of its inhabitants,—there is not one that she

regards with deeper interest than this great and ancient Empire. At all times, and in all places, the British Crown has had able and zealous servants, but none more illustrious than those whose wisdom and heroism have won and kept for it the dominion of India. This achievement, in which all Her Majesty's subjects, European and Native, have worthily co-operated, has also been aided by the loyalty of Her Majesty's great allies and feudatories; whose soldiers have shared with Her Armies the toils and victories of war; whose sagacious fidelity has assisted Her Government in preserving and diffusing the blessings of peace; and whose presence here to-day at the solemn inauguration of Her Imperial title, attests their confidence in the beneficence of Her power and their interest in the unity of Her Empire. This Empire, acquired by Her ancestors and consolidated by Herself, the Queen regards as a glorious inheritance to be maintained and transmitted intact to Her descendants, and She recognises in the possession of it the most solemn obligations to use Her great power for the welfare of all its people, with scrupulous regard for the rights of Her feudatory Princes. For this reason, it is Her Majesty's Royal pleasure to add to the titles of Her Crown one which shall be henceforth to all the Princes and People of India, the permanent symbol of its union with their interests and its claim upon their loyal allegiance. The successive dynasties whose rule in India the power of the British Crown has been called by Providence to replace and improve, were not unproductive of good and great Sovereigns; but the policy of their successors failed to secure the internal peace of their dominions. Strife became chronic and anarchy constantly recurrent. The weak were the prey of the strong, and the strong the victims of their own passions. Thus, sapped by incessant bloodshed and shaken by intestine broils, the great House of Tamerlane crumbled to decay; and it fell at last because it had ceased to be conducive to the progress of the East. Now, under laws which impartially protect all races and all

creeds, every subject of Her Majesty may peacefully enjoy his own. The toleration of the Government permits each member of the community to follow without molestation the rules and rites of his religion. The strong hand of Imperial power is put forth not to crush, but to protect and guide; and the results of British Rule are everywhere around us in the rapid advance of the whole country and the increasing prosperity of all its Provinces.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATORS AND FAITHFUL OFFICERS OF THE CROWN.—It is to your continued labours that these beneficent results are chiefly due; and it is to you, in the first instance, that I have now, in the name of Her Majesty, to express the gratitude and confidence of your Sovereign. Not less steadfastly than all your honoured predecessors, you have toiled for the good of this Great Empire with a perserving energy, public virtue, and self-devotion, unsurpassed in history. The doors of fame are not open to all; but the opportunity of doing good is denied to none who seek it. Rapid promotion it is not often in the power of any Government to provide for its servants. But I feel assured that, in the service of the British Crown, public duty and personal devotion will ever have higher incentives than the expectation of public honours or personal emoluments. Much of the most important and valuable work of Indian administration has always been, and always must be done, not by persons in prominent positions, but by those district officers on whose patient intelligence and courage the efficient operation of its whole system is essentially dependent. I cannot give expression too emphatic to Her Majesty's grateful recognition of the admirable manner in which Her servants, both Civil and Military, have performed, and are performing, throughout India, tasks as delicate and difficult as any which the Crown can confide to its most trusted subjects. Members of the Civil and Military Services, placed at an early age in positions of immense responsibility, submitting with cheerful devotion to a severely exacting discipline, personally exercising the

most important administrative functions among populations whose language, creed, and customs, differ from your own,—may you ever be sustained in the firm yet gentle discharge of your arduous duties by the consciousness that, whilst you thus uphold the high character of your race, and carry out the benign precepts of your religion, you are also conferring on all other creeds and races in this country the inestimable benefits of good Government. But it is not only to the official servants of the Crown that India is indebted for the wise application of the principles of Western civilization to the steady development of her vast resources; and I should ill represent the feelings of my August Mistress if, on this occasion, I failed to assure Her non-official European subjects in India of the cordial satisfaction with which Her Majesty recognizes and appreciates, not only their loyalty to Her Throne and Person, but also the benefits which Her Indian Empire derives from their industry, their social energy, and civic virtue. Wishing to increase Her opportunities of distinguishing the public services, or private worth, of Her subjects throughout this important portion of Her Dominions, Her Majesty has been pleased, not only to sanction a certain enlargement of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and of the Order of British India, but also to institute for this purpose an entirely new Order which will be called the Order of the Indian Empire.

OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE 'ARMY OF INDIA, BRITISH AND NATIVE.—The Queen recalls with pride your heroic achievements on every occasion, when, fighting side by side, you have upheld the honour of Her Arms. Confident that all future occasions will find you no less efficiently united in the faithful performance of that high duty, it is to you that Her Majesty entrusts the great charge of maintaining the peace, and protecting the prosperity, of Her Indian Dominions.

VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS.—Your loyal and successful endeavours to render yourselves capable of acting,

if necessary, with the Regular Forces, claim cordial recognition on this occasion.

• PRINCES AND CHIEFS OF THE EMPIRE,—Which finds in your loyalty a pledge of strength, in your prosperity a source of splendour, Her Majesty thanks you for your readiness, on which She reckons, if its interests be attacked or menaced, to assist Her Government in the defence of them. In the Queen's name I cordially welcome you to Delhi ; recognizing in your presence, on this great occasion, conspicuous evidence of those sentiments of attachment to the Crown of England which received from you such emphatic expression during the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to this country. Her Majesty regards Her interests as identified with yours ; and it is with the wish to confirm the confidence and perpetuate the intimacy of the relations now so happily uniting the British Crown and its feudatories and allies, that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to assume the Imperial title we proclaim to-day.

NATIVE SUBJECTS OF THE EMPRESS OF INDIA,—The present conditions and permanent interests of this Empire demand the supreme supervision and direction of their administration by English officers trained in the principles of that polity whose assertion is necessary to preserve the continuity of imperial rule. It is to the wise initiative of these statesman that India chiefly owes that steady progress in civilization which is a condition of her political importance, and the secret of her growing strength, and it is they who must long continue to form the most important practical channel through which the arts, the sciences, and the culture of the West [which have given to Europe its present pre-eminence in peace and war], may freely flow towards the East for the common benefit of all its children. But you, the natives of India, whatever your race, and whatever your creed, have a recognized claim to share largely

with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded on the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by the greatest British and Indian statesmen, and by the Legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognized by the Government of India, as binding on its honour, and consonant with all the aims of its policy. The Government of India, therefore, notices with satisfaction the marked improvement during recent years in the character of the Native Public Service, especially in its higher grades. The administration of this great Empire demands, from many of those to whom a share in it is entrusted attributes not exclusively intellectual, qualifications to which moral and social superiority are essential. More especially, therefore, does it rest with those who, by birth, rank and hereditary influence, are your natural leaders, to fit themselves and their children for the honourable duty which is open to them by accepting the only education that can enable them to comprehend and practise the principle steadily maintained by the Government of the Queen, their Empress. You must all adopt as your own that highest standard of public virtue which comprises loyalty, incorruptibility, impartiality, truth and courage. The Government of Her Majesty will then cordially welcome your co-operation in the work of administration. For, in every quarter of the globe over which its dominion is established, that Government trusts less to the strength of armies than to the willing allegiance of a contented and united people, who rally round the throne because, they recognise therein the stable condition of their permanent welfare. It is on the gradual and enlightened participation of Her Indian subjects in the undisturbed exercise of this mild and just authority, and not upon the conquest of weaker States, or the annexation of neighbouring Territories, that Her Majesty relies for the development of her Indian Empire. Her interests and duties, however, are not confined to Her own dominions. She sincerely desires to maintain

the most frank and friendly relations with the rulers of those territories which adjoining the frontiers of this Empire have so long owed their independence to the sheltering shadow of its power. But should the repose of that power be at any time threatened from without the Empress of India will know how to defend Her great inheritance. No foreign enemy can now attack the British Empire in India without thereby assailing the whole civilization of the East; and the unlimited resources of Her dominions, the courageous fidelity of Her allies and feudatories, and the loyal affection of Her subjects, have provided Her Majesty with ample power to repel and punish every assailant. The presence, on this occasion, of the Representatives of Sovereigns who, from the remotest parts of the East, have addressed to The Queen their congratulations on the event we celebrate to-day, significantly attest the pacific policy of the Government of India, and the cordiality of its relations with all neighbouring States. To His Highness the Khan of Kelat, and to those Ambassadors who have travelled so far to represent on British Territory the Asiatic Allies of the Empress of India, as also to our honoured guest, His Excellency the Governor-General of Goa, and to the Foreign Consular Body, I desire to offer on behalf of Her Majesty's Indian Government, welcome to this Imperial Assemblage.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MESSAGE

PRINCES AND PEOPLE OF INDIA,—It is now my pleasing duty to communicate to you the gracious message which the Queen, your Empress, has to-day addressed to you in Her own Royal and Imperial name. These are the words of the telegraphic message which I have this morning received from Her Majesty:

“WE, VICTORIA BY THE GRACE OF GOD, of the United Kingdom, Queen, Empress of India, send through our Viceroy to all our officers, Civil and Military, and to all princes, chiefs and Peoples now at Delhi assembled, our Royal and

Imperial Greeting, and assure them of the deep interest and earnest affection with which we regard the people of our Indian Empire. We have witnessed with heartfelt satisfaction the reception which they have accorded to our beloved Son, and have been touched by the evidence of their loyalty and attachment to Our House and Throne. We trust that the present occasion may tend to unite in bonds of yet closer affection ourselves and our subjects; that from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under our rule the great principles of liberty, equity and justice are secured to them; and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity and advance their welfare, are the ever-present aims and objects of Our Empire."

You will, I am confident, appreciate these gracious words.

God save Victoria, "Queen of the United Kingdom and Empress of India."

At the conclusion of this address the whole assembly spontaneously rose and joined the troops in giving repeated cheers. Many of the chiefs present attempted to offer their congratulations, but were unable to make themselves heard. The Maharaja Scindhia was the first to rise. He said: 'Shah-in-Shah Padshah (Monarch of Monarchs,) may God bless you! The Princes of India bless you and pray that your sovereignty and power may remain steadfast for ever.'

EFFECT OF THE PROCLAMATION

In the opinion of the best judges in India, after some years' experience, the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress has had political results of far-reaching importance. The supremacy of the British Government had of course been long admitted as a practical fact by all the Native States of India, but in many cases their chiefs gave themselves, when opportunity offered and it seemed safe to do so, the airs of independent powers. Treaties, made perhaps nearly a hundred

years before and still in force, might be quoted to show that the native prince, although not so strong, was equal in dignity and rightful position to the Viceroy. The Nizam, the Gaekwar, and the Viceroy had all the same salutes, than which to native imaginations there could be nothing more significant. The twenty-one guns ceased after the Delhi Assembly to be a sign of equality with the representative of the Sovereign. There can indeed be no doubt of the fact, now universally acknowledged in India, that the proclamation of the paramount superiority of the British Crown was an act of political wisdom and foresight which has not only strengthened our position throughout the vast territories of India proper, but has had no small effect also beyond the frontier of the Indian Empire.

THE DURBAR OF 1903,

The circumstances that led to the holding of the Durbar of 1903, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon may be gathered from the following Proclamation by His Majesty King Edward.

EDWARD R. I.

Whereas, upon the death of our late Sovereign of happy memory, Queen Victoria, upon the 22nd day of January in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and one, we did ascend the throne under the style and title of Edward VII, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India;

And whereas, by Our Royal Proclamations bearing date the twenty-sixth day of June and the tenth day of December in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and one, in the First year of Our Reign, We did publish and declare Our Royal intention, by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, to celebrate the Solemnity of Our Royal Coronation upon the twenty sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and two;

And whereas, by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, We were enabled to celebrate the said Solemnity upon Saturday, the ninth of August last;

And whereas, it is Our wish and desire that the fact of the celebration of the said Solemnity should be publicly announced to all Our loving Subjects within Our Indian Dominions, an opportunity should be given to Our Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Heads of Administrations, to the Chief Princes, Chiefs and Nobles of the Native States under Our Protection, and to the Representatives of all the Provinces of Our Indian Empire, to take part in the said ceremonial;

Now We do, by this Our Royal Proclamation, make announcement thereof, and We do hereby charge and command Our right trusty and well beloved Councilor, George Nathaniel Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Our Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to hold at Delhi on the 1st of January, one thousand nine hundred and three, an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of declaring the completion of the said Solemnity of our Coronation; and We direct that at the said Durbar this Proclamation shall be read for the information of all whom it may concern.

Given at Our Court at St. James,' the first day of October, one thousand nine hundred and two, in the second year of Our Reign, God save the King-Emperor.

The Durbar was a magnificent affair though the propriety of holding it on the scale on which it was planned by Lord Curzon and carried out was questioned in many quarters. Quite apart from that, the Durbar was a great success, both as an impressive ceremony and as a gigantic spectacular sight. The elephant procession was its greatest feature, the great Imperial city being entered by Lord Curzon and the Royal Princes of India on State elephants. "It was a barbaric display, if you will, but it epitomised the wealth and magnificence of the immemorial East." There were 200 elephants in the procession including those ridden by the retainers of the Princes. On the reading of the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of King Edward VII, by the Herald Major Maxwell, the guns without

fired a salute of 101 guns and the 40000 troops encircling the Durbar fired a "feu de joie."

LORD CURZON'S DURBAR SPEECH

Then the Viceroy made his speech and, in doing so said:—

Five months ago in London, His majesty King Edward VII., King of England and Emperor of India was invested with the crown and sceptre of the English Kings. Only a few representatives of the Indian Empire had the good fortune to be present at that ceremony. To-day His Majesty has by his royal favour afforded an opportunity to all his Indian people to take part in similar rejoicings, and here, and elsewhere throughout India, are gathered together in honour of the event the Princes and Chiefs and Nobles, who are the pillars of his throne, the European and Indian officials who conduct his administration with an integrity and devotion to duty beyond compare, the Army, British and Native, which with such pre-eminent bravery defends his frontiers and fights his wars, and the vast body of the loyal inhabitants of India of all races who, amid a thousand varieties of circumstance and feeling and custom, are united in their spontaneous allegiance to the Imperial Crown. It was with the special object of thus solemnising his Coronation in India that His Majesty commanded me, as his Viceroy, to convene this great Durbar, and it is to signify the supreme value that he attaches to the occasion that he has honoured us by deputing his own brother His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, to join in this celebration.

It is 26 years since, on the anniversary of this day, in this city of Imperial memories and traditions, and on this very spot, Queen Victoria was proclaimed the First Empress of India. That act was a vindication of her profound interest in her Indian subjects, and of the accomplished unity of her Indian dominions under

the paramountcy of the British Crown. To-day, a quarter of a century later, that Empire is not less but more united. The Sovereign to whom we are met to render homage is not less dear to his Indian people, for they have seen his features, and heard his voice. He has succeeded to a throne not only the most illustrious, but the most stable in the world; and ill-informed would be the critic who would deny that not the least of the bases of its security—nay, I think, a principal condition of its strength—is the possession of the Indian Empire, and the faithful attachment and service of His Majesty's Indian people. Rich in her ancient traditions, India is also rich in the loyalty which has been kindled anew in her by the West. Amid the crowd of noble suitors who, through all the centuries, have sought her hand, she has given it only to the one who has also gained her trust.

Nowhere else in the world would such a spectacle be possible as that which we witness here to-day. I do not speak of this great and imposing Assemblage, unparalleled as I believe it to be. I refer to that which this gathering symbolises, and those to whose feelings it gives expression. Over 100 rulers of separate States, whose united population amounts to 60 millions of people, and whose territories extend over 55 degrees of longitude, have come here to testify their allegiance to their common Sovereign. We greatly esteem the sentiments of loyalty that have brought them to Delhi from such great distances, and often at considerable sacrifice; and I shall presently be honoured by receiving from their own lips their message of personal congratulation to the King. The officers and soldiers present are drawn from a force in India of nearly 230,000 men, whose pride it is that they are the King's Army. The leaders of Indian society, official and unofficial, who are here, are the mouth-pieces of a community of over 230 millions of souls. In spirit, therefore, and one may almost say, through their rulers and deputies, in person, there is represented in this arena nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. All are animated by a

single feeling, and all bow before a single throne. And should it be asked how it is that any one sentiment can draw together these vast and scattered forces and make them one, the answer is that loyalty to the Sovereign is synonymous with confidence in the equity and benignity of his rule. It is not merely the expression of an emotion, but the record of an experience and the declaration of a belief. For to the majority of these millions the King's Government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy; to others it has guaranteed their rights and privileges; to others it opens ever widening avenues of honourable employment; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of suffering; and to all it endeavours to give equal justice, immunity from oppression, and the blessings of enlightenment and peace. To have won such a dominion is a great achievement. To hold it by fair and righteous dealing as a greater. To weld it by prudent statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be and is the greatest of all.

Such are the ideas and aims that are embodied in the summoning of this Coronation Durbar.

HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE

It is now my duty to read to you the gracious Message which His Majesty has desired me to convey to his Indian people:—

“It gives me much pleasure to send a Message of greeting to my Indian people, on the solemn occasion when they are celebrating my Coronation. Only a small number of the Indian Princes and representatives were able to be present at the Ceremony which took place in London; and I accordingly instructed my Viceroy and Governor-General to hold a great Durbar at Delhi, in order to afford an opportunity to all the Indian Princes, Chiefs, and Peoples, and to the Officials of my Government, to commemorate this auspicious event. Ever since my visit to India in 1875, I have regarded that Country and its Peoples with deep affection: and I am conscious of their earnest and loyal devotion

to my House and Throne. During recent years many evidences of their attachment have reached me: and my Indian Troops have rendered conspicuous services in the Wars and Victories of my Empire.

"I confidently hope that my beloved Son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, may before long be able to make themselves personally acquainted with India, a country which I have always desired that they should see, and which they are equally anxious to visit. Gladly would I have come to India upon this eventful occasion myself had this been found possible. I have, however, sent my dear Brother, the Duke of Connaught, who is already so well known in India, in order that my Family may be represented at the Ceremony held to celebrate my Coronation.

"My desire, since I succeeded to the Throne of my revered Mother, the late Queen Victoria, the First Empress of India, has been to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable Administration which secured for her in so wonderful a degree the veneration and affection of her Indian Subjects. To all my Feudatories and Subjects throughout India, I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire, and the greater happiness of its People."

Princes and Peoples of India, these are the words of the Sovereign whose Coronation we are assembled to celebrate. They provide a stimulus and an inspiration to the officers who serve him, and they breathe the lessons of magnanimity and goodwill to all. To those of us who, like my colleagues and myself, are the direct instruments of His Majesty's Government, they suggest the spirit that should guide our conduct and

infuse our Administration. Never was there a time when we were more desirous that that Administration should be characterised by generosity and leniency. Those who have suffered much deserve much; and those who have wrought well deserve well. The Princes of India have offered us their soldiers and their own swords in the recent campaigns of the Empire; and in other struggles, such as those against drought and famine, they have conducted themselves with equal gallantry and credit. It is difficult to give to them more than they already enjoy, and impossible to add to a security whose inviolability is beyond dispute. Nevertheless, it has been a pleasure to us to propose that Government shall cease to exact any interest for a period of three years upon all loans that have been made or guaranteed by the Government of India to Native States in connection with the last famine; and we hope that this benefaction may be acceptable to those to whom it is offered. Other and more numerous classes there are in this great country to whom we would gladly extend, and to whom we hope before long to be in a position to announce, relief. In the midst of a financial year it is not always expedient to make announcements, or easy to frame calculations. If, however, the present conditions continue, and if, as we have good reason to believe, we have entered upon a period of prosperity in Indian finance, then I trust that these early years of His Majesty's reign may not pass by without the Government of India being able to demonstrate their feelings of sympathy and regard for the Indian population by measures of financial relief, which their patient and loyal conduct it years of depression and distress renders it especially gratifying to me to contemplate. I need not now refer to other acts of consideration or favour which we have associated with the present occasion, since they are recorded elsewhere. But it is my privilege to make the announcement to the officers of the Army that henceforward the name of the Indian Staff Corps will cease to exist, and that they will belong to the single and homogenous Indian Army of the King.

Princes and Peoples, if we turn our gaze for a moment to the future, a great development appears with little doubt to lie before this country. There is no Indian problem, be it of population or education or labour or subsistence, which it is not in the power of statesmanship to solve. The solution of many is even now proceeding before our eyes. If the combined arms of Great Britain and India can secure continued peace upon our borders, if unity prevails within them, between princes and people, between European and Indian, and between rulers and ruled and if the seasons fail not in their bounty, then nothing can arrest the march of progress. The India of the future will, under Providence, not be an India of diminishing plenty, of empty prospect, or of justifiable discontent; but one of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely-distributed comfort and wealth. I have faith in the conscience and the purpose of my own country; and I believe in the almost illimitable capacities of this. But under no other conditions can this future be realised than the unchallenged supremacy of the paramount power, and under no other controlling authority is this capable of being maintained, than that of the British Crown.

And now I will bring these remarks to a close. It is my earnest hope that this great assemblage may long be remembered by the peoples of India as having brought them into contact at a moment of great solemnity with the personality and the sentiments of their Sovereign. I hope that its memories will be those of happiness and rejoicing, and that the reign of King Edward VII, so auspiciously begun, will live in the annals of India and in the hearts of its people. We pray that, under the blessing of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, his sovereignty and power may last for long years, that the well-being of his subjects may grow from day to day, that the administration of his officers may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, and that the security and beneficence of his dominion may endure for ever. Long live the King-Emperor of India!

THE DURBAR OF 1911

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

A Gazette Extraordinary published on the 22nd March contained the following Royal Proclamation by the King-Emperor King George V for appointing a day for the celebration in His Majesty's Indian dominions of the solemnity of the Coronation of His Majesty :—

Whereas upon the death of our late Sovereign of happy Memory King Edward, upon the sixth day of May in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten We did ascend the Throne under the style and title of George the Fifth, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India ; and whereas by Our Royal Proclamations bearing date the nineteenth day of July and the seventh day of November in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten in the first year of Our Reign, We did publish and declare Our Royal intention by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God to celebrate the solemnity of Our Royal Coronation upon the twenty-second day of June one thousand nine hundred and eleven ; and whereas it is Our wish and desire to make known to all Our loving subjects within Our Indian dominions that the said solemnity has so been celebrated and to call to Our presence Our Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and others of Our officers, the Princes, Chiefs and Nobles of the Native States under Our protection and representatives of all the Pro-

vinces of Our Indian Empire, now We do by this Royal Proclamation declare Our Royal intention to hold at Delhi on the twelfth day of December one thousand and nine hundred and eleven an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of making known the said solemnity of Our Coronation and we do hereby charge and command Our right trusted and well beloved counsellor Charles Baron Hardinge of Penhurst, Our Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to take all necessary measures in that behalf.

Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace this twenty-second day of March in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine-hundred and eleven and in the first year of Our Reign.

THE DELHI CORONATION DURBAR.

The *Medina* with their Majesties the King Emperor and Queen Empress arrived at Bombay on the 2nd December. Their Majesties stayed at Bombay till the 4th, visited the Caves of Elephanta on the 5th and left for Delhi the same night. The following account of the programme and functions in connection with the Imperial visit to Delhi is adapted mainly from the Durbar number of the *Indian Review*, issued soon after the Durbar in January 1912 :—

The ancient capital of the Hindus and Moguls had the honour of receiving the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress on the 7th morning and right royally the event has been staged. By sunrise, the multitude was afoot to take up their positions along the roads, and motor cars jostled with country carts in long streams, which poured from every point of the compass towards the Fort. A cheerful throng of enthusiastic subjects gave a loyal welcome to the King and Queen.

THE ARRIVAL.

The Royal Special, hauled by one huge engine, slid smoothly into the station at Selinghur and the King-Emperor, in Field-Marshal's uniform, with the Star of India riband, was the first to alight. The Queen-Empress wore a soft white satin dress, with a design of sprays, roses and blue bows, the Order of the Garter and Crown of India, and a sapphire and diamond brooch, and a hat of white straw with shaded blue feather. Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Hardinge advanced and received Their Imperial Majesties, and the Hon'ble Diamond Hardinge, their little daughter presented a bouquet of flowers to the Queen. All was excitement and commotion. The Guard of Honour presented arms, the Band played the National Anthem, and a Royal Salute boomed out from the ramparts of the old Fort and notified the Royal arrival to hundreds of thousands waiting along the route.

Immediately afterwards a *feu de joie* was fired by the troops lining the route, and ran in a *diminuendo* out through the Delhi Gate until the sound lost itself in the distance behind the Jumma Musjid, to revive as the troops lining Chandni Chowk took it up, and disappeared again for quite an appreciable period, as it traversed the four miles of troops right up the Ridge, whence it returned in a *crescendo* back through the streets and the Delhi Gate to the steps below the station, where it started. Here, meanwhile the introductions were proceeding. The members of the Indian Staff of Their Majesties were first presented. The high officials from the Governors of the Provinces downwards were then successively presented by Lord Hardinge to Their Imperial Majesties. The King-Emperor then inspected the Guard of Honour, and the whole assemblage walked from the station to the chief Reception Tent inside the Fort. The Royal Standard fluttered out from the flagstaff on the tower, and a Guard of Honour of the 16th Rajputs presented arms.

PRESENTATION OF NATIVE CHIEFS.

In the Reception Tent there were present the whole of the great Feudatories of India, who were presented to Their Imperial Majesties, the Master of the Ceremonies reading out the names and titles. First came the young Nizam, then followed the Gaekwar, the Maharajahs of Mysore, Kashmir, the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, the Maharana of Udaipur, and a host of others.

The Royal Procession was then formed, with Their Majesties in the centre, and wound its way through the escorting ranks out through the Delhi Gate, and into the Khas Road, gay with bunting, and lined on both sides with huge crowds of salaaming, wondering spectators, cheer breaking upon cheer as His Imperial Majesty passed the Big Stands, where European visitors were congregated.

Slowly the great Procession wound its way round the Jumma Musjid and up the thronged aisles of Chandni Chowk, where the enthusiasm reached its climax. The end of the Procession was still emerging from the Fort as its head reached the Mori Gate. The Boulevard and Rajapur Road were passed, the ascent of the Ridge was climbed, and on its summit under the shadow of the historic, but ruined, Char-buiga Mosque Their Imperial Majesties were introduced to what was perhaps the most striking feature of the opening pageant. A circular pavilion, seating 4,000 spectators, spread out curved arms to meet them. Here Their Imperial Majesties received a tremendous ovation.

THE KING'S REPLY

The Hon. Mr. J. Jenkins read an Address on behalf of the people of British India and His Majesty in replying said :—

In the name of the Queen-Empress and on my own behalf I heartily thank you for your loyal and dutiful Address, the words of which have deeply touched us. They recall those countless messages of affectionate devotion with which

India in common with all parts of my dominions greeted us on our Coronation in England and which have been repeated by all classes and creeds of my Indian subjects since our arrival in your country.

I know from my Governor-General what strength and support he receives from the wise experience of the Members of his Legislative Council, the chosen representatives of British India. I much appreciate the welcome you offer us on behalf of its peoples. Rest assured that there is no wish nearer to our hearts than that in the words of your Address the Indian Empire may continue steadily to advance in the ways of peace, prosperity and contentment.

RECEPTION OF THE RULING CHIEFS.

In the afternoon and at intervals on the two succeeding days His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor received visits in State from the Ruling Chiefs in the Reception Tent. The visits of such of the chiefs who were entitled to the honour were returned by H. E. the Governor-General. The Indian ladies, consorts of the Ruling Chiefs and others were also received by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. They presented her with an Address of Welcome, and Her Majesty in the course of her reply pointed to the beautiful jewel she was then wearing which had been presented to her by the women of India on her last visit as Princess of Wales.

UNVEILING THE EDWARD MEMORIAL TABLET.

The greatest event of the second day of Their Majesties' arrival at Delhi—8th December 1911—was the unveiling of the All-India Memorial Tablet to the late King Edward VII., in the centre of a well-laid out garden, which was specially created on the Delhi Maidan between the Fort and the Jumma Masjid. The tablet is to form the foundation of the large bronze statute that is to be set up at the spot. In the presence of a large concourse of people, Feudatory Princes, Heads of Administrations, high

officials, and other subscribers to the Fund, Lord Hardinge stepped forward to read an Address, in which he said that in "the statue that is to adorn this pedestal will be enshrined a lasting pledge of the gratitude of the many millions of your Indian people for the peace, justice and prosperity that prevailed during the late King-Emperor's all too short but strenuous reign."

HIS MAJESTY'S REPLY

His Imperial Majesty, in reply said :—

The Address which you have just read has touched my heart and awakened memories of what we all, and I most of all, owe to my dear father, the late King-Emperor. He was the first of my House to visit India, and it was by his command that I came six short years ago to this great and wonderful land. Alas ! little did we then think how soon we should have to mourn his loss.

You tell me that this Memorial represents the contributions, not only of a few who may have had the privilege of personal acquaintance with my father, but of thousands of his and my people in India. I am glad to know that the deep and abiding concern which he felt for India has met with so warm a response from the hearts of her children.

I rejoice to think that this statue will stand a noble monument on a beautiful and historic site to remind generations yet unborn of your loyal affection and of his sympathy and trust, sentiments which, please God, always will be traditional between India and the members of my House.

Sunday, December 10th, was observed as a day of rest in the Camp, and a Military Parade Service, which was a feature of the Lytton and the Curzon Durbars, was held in the morning on Jagatpur Island opposite the Delhi Garrison Troops Camp. Fifteen hundred civilians and the whole of the British Troops in the Coronation Camp were present.

On Monday His Imperial Majesty presented colours to a number of Regiments—British and Indian—on the Polo Ground and it was one of the most imposing functions of the Coronation Durbar. Representative Detachments from all the Corps then in Delhi were present. The Composite Division, the special representative units of regiments of which the King-Emperor is the Colonel-in-Chief, and the veterans lined the route. The Guards of Honour were furnished by the Worcestershire Regiment and Sikh Pioneers. The British Regiments selected for the honour of receiving new colours from the hands of His Imperial Majesty were drawn up in a hollow square on the West Polo Ground under the command of Major-General Young. The Indian Regiments, designated for similar honour, namely the 90th Punjabis and 18th Infantry, were drawn up side by side on the east Polo Ground in line of a quarter column of double companies under the command of Brigadier-General O'Donnel. The new colours were displayed on the regimental drums, which stood, in the case of the British Regiments inside the square, and in the case of the Indian Regiments, in front of the columns. The Bishops and Clergy took up their places beside the drums. The Governor-General and suite escorted by the 1st Dragoon Guards and 11th Lancers arrived shortly before 10. His Imperial Majesty on horseback escorted by the 13th Hussars and Jacob's Horse arrived soon afterwards and took up a position near the Royal Standard. The Guards of Honour presented Arms and a Royal Salute was fired. His Imperial Majesty then inspected the Regiments in the hollow square and afterwards dismounted, and the imposing ceremony was gone through. The new colours presented to the Regiments were proudly escorted to their place of honour and the old colours were removed after they had been marched past the ranks. A similar ceremony took place in connection with the Indian Regiments but in this case the religious ceremony was omitted.

THE IMPERIAL DURBAR.

"The solemnity of the Coronation of His Imperial of Majesty King George V. was announced on the 12th with unparalleled magnificence in the presence of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress in Durbar. Martial pomp, and brilliant splendour did all that was humanly possible to make this great Imperial event worthy of the history, traditions and sentiments of the Indian Empire. The entire ceremony was carried out with the dignity befitting the occasion. The arrangements had all worked smoothly, the great underlying fact of the joining of a united India in homage to one Ruler was brought out impressively, effectively, and with pictorial accessories that will make it memorable for all time."

The spectacle was one of great impressiveness and beauty as Their Majesties sat with their company around them in the pavilion facing the Princes and representatives, and with a vast mass of men and colour behind, melting away in the sunlight. The Master of the Ceremonies with due reverence obtained from the King-Emperor the customary permission to open the Durbar which was marked by a flourish of trumpets and a great roll of drums. Their Majesties then rose from their seats, and the King-Emperor in slow and measured tones, that could be heard distinctly announced his pleasure in the following terms:

H. M. THE KING EMPEROR'S ADDRESS

"It is with genuine feelings of thankfulness and satisfaction that I stand here to-day among you. This year has been to the Queen-Empress and myself one of many great ceremonies and of an unusual though happy burden of toil, but in spite of time and distance, the grateful recollections of our last visit to India have drawn us again to the land which we then learned to love, and we started with bright hopes on our long journey to revisit the country in which we had already met the kindness of a home. In doing so, I have

fulfilled the wish expressed in my message of last July, to announce to you in person my Coronation, celebrated on the 22nd of June, in Westminster Abbey, when by the Grace of God the Crown of my forefathers was placed on my head with solemn form and ancient ceremony. By my presence with the Queen-Empress I am also anxious to show our affection for the loyal Princes and faithful peoples of India and how dear to our hearts is the welfare and happiness of the Indian Empire. It is, moreover, my desire that those who could not be present at the solemnity of the Coronation should have the opportunity of taking part in its commemoration at Delhi.

It is a sincere pleasure and gratification to myself and to the Queen-Empress to behold this vast assemblage and in it my Governors and trusted officials, my great Princes, the representatives of the peoples and deputations from the Military Forces of my Indian dominions. I shall receive in person with heartfelt satisfaction the homage and allegiance which they loyally desire to render. I am deeply impressed with the thought that a spirit of sympathy and affectionate goodwill unites Princes and people with me on this historical occasion. In token of these sentiments I have desired to commemorate the event of my Coronation by certain marks of my special favour and consideration, and these I will later on to-day cause to be announced by my Governor-General to this Assembly. Finally, I rejoice to have this opportunity of renewing in my own person those assurances which have been given by my revered predecessors of the maintenance of your rights and privileges and of my earnest concern for your welfare, peace and contentment. May the Divine favour of Providence watch over my people and assist me in my utmost endeavour to promote their happiness

and prosperity. To all present feudatories and subjects I tender our loving greeting."

Their Majesties then, after bowing graciously to the company, resumed their seats. At this stage a picturesque addition to the proceedings was afforded by the entry of the Imperial Cadet Corps, who marched in two lines from the back of the theatre between the blocks of seats to their places behind the other members of the Imperial suite, where they formed a pale blue background to the *dais*. The Homage then commenced, a ceremony that was rendered very remarkable by the variety and scope which it displayed.

The forms of Homage were as many and varied as the race and dress of those who used them, but they possessed a common feature in being the highest expression of fealty and respect that could be offered.

On the retirement of the last of the representatives, the Master of the Ceremonies advanced to the front of the *dais*, to signify the completion of the ceremony, and Their Majesties then rose from their seats and descended to the main platform of the pavilion hand-in-hand, their trains being carried by the pages.

A few moments after Their Majesties were seated the massed bands on their left sounded a trumpet summons to the heralds, who, with their attendant trumpeters, could be dimly seen through the shimmering haze along the Central Roadway about a hundred feet behind the stands. Almost immediately came back a shrill antiphon from the silver trumpets of the latter, and the heralds were seen riding towards the amphitheatre. At the entrance, the trumpeters sounded another flourish and then advanced towards the pavilion at a trot, dividing into two sections at the flagstaff and wheeling right and left to pass on either side around the inner circle road, then along the sides of the processional causeway to the front of the pavilion, where they halted in line, British and Indian alternatively, facing towards Their Majesties. The Delhi Herald here received the Emperor's Command to read the Proclamation, which he did from horse-back, turning towards the soldiers and the people

His voice was distinctly heard at the outer stands three hundred yards away, but was not audible to those seated in the Durbar behind, where, however, copies of the document in English and Urdu were distributed at the same time. The actual Proclamation read by the Delhi Herald was printed in gold on white satin, with a bullion fringe and fastenings. It was as follows:—

THE PROCLAMATION

By the KING-EMPEROR

A Royal Proclamation for making known within His Majesty's Dominions the Celebration of the Solemnity of the Coronation of His Majesty.

WHEREAS by OUR Royal Proclamations bearing date the nineteenth day of July and the seventh day of November in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten in the First Year of OUR Reign, WE did publish and declare OUR Royal intention, by the favour and Blessing of Almighty God, to celebrate the Solemnity of OUR Royal Coronation upon the twenty-second day of June, one thousand nine hundred and eleven;

AND WHEREAS, by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, WE were enabled to celebrate the said Solemnity upon Thursday, the 22nd June last;

And whereas, by Our Royal Proclamation bearing date the twenty-second day of March in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven in the First Year of Our Reign, WE did declare that it was Our wish and desire Ourselves to make known to all Our loving Subjects within Our Indian Dominions that the said Solemnity had so been celebrated, and to call to Our Presence OUR Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other of OUR Officers, the Princes, Chiefs, and Nobles of the Native States under OUR Protection, and the Representatives of all the Provinces of OUR Indian Empire;

Now We do, by this OUR Royal Proclamation, make announcement thereof and extend to all OUR Officers, and to all Princes, Chiefs, and Peoples now at Delhi assembled OUR Royal and Imperial Greeting, and assure them of the deep affection with which WE regard OUR Indian Empire, the welfare and prosperity of which are and ever will be OUR constant concern.

Given at OUR Court at Delhi, the twelfth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, in the Second Year of Our Reign.

God save the King-Emperor.

This was then read similarly in Urdu by the Assistant Herald, after which the trumpeters sealed it with a prolonged and most impressive fanfare, which, like all the other trumpet music for the ceremony, had been specially composed by Major Stretton. The massed bands then crashed forth the National Anthem, while the entire company at the same instant rose to its feet and the troops presented arms. Their Majesties alone of all this great concourse remained seated, the focus of the blessings and devotion of a hundred thousand people, and many more beyond. The ovation was unique, and Their Majesties seemed deeply moved. It was followed by a great salute of artillery fired by salvoes of batteries. Those on the north first fired thirty-four salvoes, after which the ripple of a *feu de joie* passed away along the line of troops on the left of Kingsway and the Princess Road simultaneously to meet at the King-Emperor's camp and back along the right, thus completing the line from the Fort to the Durbar that was begun at the state entry. Then, after six bars of the National Anthem, the batteries on the west, fired thirty-three, followed in the same way by a *feu de joie* and the second six bars of the National Anthem, and then the eastern batteries with thirty-four, and finally another *feu de joie*, followed by the whole Anthem. At the close of this imposing salute, the Governor-General advanced to the front of the Thrones, and with a deep reverence received the Imperial Command to announce the benefits and favours

conferred by the Emperor to honour the occasion. His Excellency read the following announcement. Printed copies in English and Urdu were distributed at the same time.

CORONATION BOONS

It was as follows :

A GRANT FOR EDUCATION.

"To all to whom these presents may come by the command of His Most Excellent Majesty George V., by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith and Emperor of India, I, his Governor-General do hereby declare and notify the grants, concessions, reliefs, and benefactions, which His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow upon this glorious and memorable occasion. Humbly and dutifully submissive to His Most Gracious Majesty's will and pleasure, the Government of India have resolved, with the approval of His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State, to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement and have decided, in recognition of a very commendable demand, to act themselves, to make education in India as accessible and wide as possible. With this purpose it is proposed to devote at once Rs. 50 lakhs for the promotion of truly popular education, and it is the firm intention of the Government to add to the grant now announced further grants in future years on a generous scale.

CONCESSIONS TO THE ARMY.

Graciously recognising the signal and faithful services of his forces by land and seas, the King-Emperor has charged me to announce the award of half a month's pay of rank to all Non-Commissioned Officers and men and Reservists, both of his British Army in India and his Indian Army, to the equivalent ranks of the Royal Indian Marine and to all permanent employees of Departmental or Combatant Establishments paid from the Military Estimates, whose pay may not exceed the sum of Rs. 50 monthly.

Furthermore, His Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that from henceforth the

loyal Native Officers, men and Reservists of his Indian Army, shall be eligible for the grant of the Victoria Cross for valour, that the membership of the Order of British India shall be increased during the decade following this, His Imperial Majesty's Coronation Durbar, by 52 appointments in the First Class, and that in mark of these historic ceremonies, fifteen new appointments in the First Class and nineteen new appointments in the Second Class shall forthwith be made. That from henceforth Indian Officers of the Frontier Militia Corps and the Military Police shall be deemed eligible for admission to the aforesaid Order, that special grants of land or assessments or remissions of Land Revenue, as the case may be, shall now be conferred on certain Native Officers of His Imperial Majesty's Indian Army, who may be distinguished for long and honourable service, and that the special allowances now assigned for three years only to the widows of the deceased members of the Indian Order of Merit shall, with effect from the date of this Durbar, hereafter be continued to all such widows until death or marriage.

Graciously appreciating the devoted and successful labours of his Civil Service, His Imperial Majesty has commanded me to declare the grant of half a month's pay to all permanent servants in the civil employ of Government, whose pay may not exceed the sum of Rs. 50 monthly.

BADGES AND PENSIONS.

Further, it is His Imperial Majesty's Gracious Behest that all persons to whom may have been or hereafter may be granted the titles of Dewan Bahadur, Sirdar Bahadur, Khan Bahadur, Rai Bahadur, Khan Sahib, Rai Sahib or Rao Sahib shall receive distinctive badges as a symbol of respect and honour, and that on all holders present or to come of the venerable titles of Mahamahopadhyaya and Shams-ul-Ulama shall be conferred some annual pension for the good report of the ancient learning of India.

GRANTS OF LAND.

Moreover, in commemoration of his Durbar and as a reward for conspicuous public service, certain grant s

of land free of revenue, tenable for the life of the grantee or in the discretion of the Local Administration for one further life, shall be bestowed or restored in the North-western Frontier Province and in Beluchistan.

THE INDIAN PRINCES.

In His gracious solicitude for the welfare of His Royal Indian Princes, His Imperial Majesty has commanded me to proclaim that from henceforth no *Nazarana* payments shall be made upon succession to their States, and sundry debts owing to the Government by the non-jurisdictional estates in Kathiawar and Guzerat, and also by the Bhumia Chiefs of Mewar will be cancelled and remitted in the whole or in part, under the orders of the Government of India, and in appreciation of the Imperial Service Troops certain supernumerary appointments in the Order of British India will be made.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS.

In the exercise of his Royal and Imperial clemency and compassion, His Most Excellent Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that certain prisoners now suffering the penalty of the Law for crimes and misdemeanours shall be released from imprisonment, that all those civil debtors now in prison whose debts may be small and due not to fraud but to real poverty, shall be discharged, and that their debts shall be paid.

The persons by whom and the terms and conditions on which these grants, concessions and benefactions shall be enjoyed will be hereafter declared. "God save the King-Emperor."

CHANGE OF CAPITAL

After the tendering of the homage by the Ruling Chiefs His Majesty said :—

We are pleased to announce to our people that on the advice of our Ministers tendered after consultation with our Governor-General in Council, We have decided upon the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient capital of Delhi, and simul-

taneously, and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation at as early a date as possible of a Governorship for the Presidency of Bengal, of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council administering the areas of Behar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa, and of a Chief Commissionership of Assam, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as our Governor-General in Council, with the approval of our Secretary of State for India in Council, may in due course determine. It is our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to the better administration of India and the greater prosperity and happiness of our beloved people.

REPLY TO DELHI MUNICIPALITY

On the 13th, the Madras and the Delhi Municipal Councils Addresses were presented to His Majesty.

In replying to the Delhi Municipal Address His Majesty said:—

The Queen-Empress and I thank you most heartily for the kind sentiments of welcome and goodwill to which your Address gives expression. A few months ago we feared lest the occasion of our visit to India should be marked by a serious scarcity owing to a period of unusual drought, thus causing grievous calamity to the large majority of my Indian people, whose prosperity so closely depends upon an abundant rainfall and upon the produce of agriculture. I am thankful that the scarcity has been restricted in extent, and that owing to better communications and the extension of irrigation, famine to-day is no longer the dread scourge of past generations.

I am glad to know that in other directions the agricultural position of India has improved. The cultivator has always been patient, laborious and skilful, though his methods have been based upon tradition. Latterly, the resources of science have been brought to bear upon agriculture, and have demonstrated, in a very short time, the great results that can be secured by its application, not only in the actual improvement of the land but in dealing

with the diseases of live stock, and also with those insect-pests which are such formidable enemies of the tiller of the soil. If the system of co-operation can be introduced and utilised to the full, I foresee a great and glorious future for the agricultural interests of this country.

We greatly appreciate the successful efforts made to beautify and prepare your City for our visit. At the same time, I know how during the past twenty years you have not neglected sanitary reform. Steady progress with your drainage system has had most happy results, and the supply of pure water which you have secured has fully justified its heavy cost in the immunity thereby given from cholera and other epidemic diseases. The unusual freedom from malaria which Delhi has enjoyed this year is, I understand, to be ascribed largely to the clearance and drainage of the Bela, by which a jungle swamp has been converted into an extensive park.

I most earnestly trust that these lessons may be more universally understood and utilised to ensure the better health and greater safety of my Indian subjects. The remedy for protection from those terrible visitations of plague, malaria and cholera must be sought in the action of the people themselves and their leaders, in cordial co-operation with the scientific efforts of the authorities. Considerable progress has been made by research and by the study of local conditions as to the cause of these scourges, but much remains to be done; above all, in the education of the masses, teaching them to understand and adopt precautions dictated by elementary hygiene and domestic sanitation for their protection and welfare.

We have looked forward with keen pleasure to the prospect of re-visiting your ancient and famous City, which, as your Address reminds us, has been the scene of events memorable in the history of this country, and some of them intimately associated with my House and Throne. In the future it will be bound to us by yet closer ties. The traditions of your City

invest it with a peculiar charm. The relics of the dynasties of bygone ages that meet the eye on every side, the splendid palaces and temples which have resisted the destroying hand of time, all these witness to a great and illustrious past.

In seeking a more central spot for the seat of the Government of India these traditions and characteristics conduced in no small degree to the decision which I have so recently announced, that from this time forth Delhi shall be the Capital of our Indian Empire.

At the same time, I wish to bear testimony to the care with which the Government of the Punjab, during the fifty years since Delhi was incorporated in that Province, have developed this beautiful City, while doing their utmost to preserve its historic monuments and thus preparing the City of Delhi for its restoration to its former proud position of the Capital of the Indian Empire.

The change will necessitate considerable administrative re-arrangements, but I am assured that the Imperial City may anticipate from the Imperial Government care for its ancient monuments and a solicitude for its material development by no means less than the Provincial City of Delhi has in the past received from the Provincial Government.

I pray that this Empire, of which Delhi is now the Capital, may ever stand for peace and progress, justice and prosperity, and that it may add to the traditions of your City still brighter chapters of greatness and glory.

On the 14th there was a grand military review.

FOUNDATION OF THE NEW CAPITAL

On 15th December 1911, Their Imperial Majesties laid the first stones of the new Capital of India. The place selected was in the Government of India Camp, which had been decided to be the centre of the Imperial Delhi that is to be. The Heralds and the whole of the Local Governments and Administrations were in attendance, also the Ruling Chiefs and the Coro-

nation Durbar Heralds and Trumpeters, with a Guard of Honour and Escorts. Their Majesties, on arrival, were received by the Governor-General and the Members of the Executive Council. A Royal Salute was fired. The Governor-General then made the following short speech.

LORD HARDINGE'S SPEECH

May it please Your Imperial Majesties.—By graciously consenting to lay the first stones of the Imperial Capital to be established at Delhi, Your Imperial Majesties will set a seal upon the announcement made by His Imperial Majesty on the day of the Coronation Durbar, a day which will ever be memorable in the history of India, partly owing to the splendour with which it was celebrated, but much more on account of the fervent demonstrations of loyalty which it evoked.

Many Capitals have been inaugurated in the neighbourhood of Delhi, some of which are so ancient that their origin is lost in the mist of antiquity. But none has ever arisen under happier auspices than those which attend the ceremony which Your Imperial Majesties are about to perform, and assuredly none ever held a promise of greater permanence of a prosperous and glorious future.

The decision to remove the Capital of the Government of India from Calcutta was not reached without mature and anxious consideration. Proposals of a similar nature had been fully discussed as long ago as 1868, and ample materials were on record for the formation of a just opinion upon all debatable points. No great change, however beneficial, can be carried out without some sacrifice, without some injury to personal interests, or some offence to local sentiment. Yet, if I may be permitted to speak as Your Imperial Majesties' Governor-General on behalf of myself and my colleagues in Council, I desire to say that we are confident that there have been few changes so important which have been so much to the interest of the many, that the injury which the few may anticipate will be merely temporary and within no long time

will be greatly outweighed by the benefits which will ensue, and that Your Imperial Majesty's decision, taken constitutionally upon the advice of Your Imperial Majesty's Ministers, will, with the concomitant changes which are necessarily involved, result in a vast and progressive improvement in the methods of the Government of the Indian Empire, will put an end to strife and dissension and will usher in an era of general peace and contentment.

We are convinced that the decision could have been taken and announced in no way which would have been provocative of so little discord and debate, or so well calculated to enlist the enthusiastic and loyal support of all classes of Your Imperial Majesties' faithful subjects.

We sincerely trust that the noble city which under God's providence we hope to rear around the spot where these stones are laid will be worthy of the occasion to which it owes its birth. The stones themselves will for ever remain a monument of Your Imperial Majesty's gracious presence in this ancient seat of civilisation and Empire, and of the momentous decision which was declared and published to Your Imperial Majesty's loyal subjects at this place."

At the close of his speech, Lord Hardinge announced that the Maharajah of Gwalior had undertaken to provide a statue of His Majesty the King-Emperor to be set up in the Imperial Capital of India in commemoration of the Royal Visit, and of the transfer of the Capital to Delhi.

His Majesty said in reply :—

It is a matter of supreme satisfaction to the Queen-Empress and myself that it has been possible for us, before leaving Delhi, to lay the first stones of the Imperial Capital, which will arise from where we now stand. This is the first step to give the material effect to the important announcement which it was my pleasure to make on that magnificent and, to us, deeply impressive occasion of my Coronation Durbar three days ago.

I earnestly hope that the anticipation of the beneficial and far-reaching results from the great changes now to be effected may be amply fulfilled, securing to India improved administration and to its people increased happiness and prosperity. It is my desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected will be considered with the greatest deliberation and care, so that the new creation may in every way be worthy of this ancient and beautiful city.

Their Majesties the King and Queen and Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge left Delhi on the 16th, the King proceeding to Nepaul, the Queen to Agra, and Their Excellencies to Barrackpore.

The departure of Their Majesties was marked by the same demonstration of enthusiasm as marked their arrival and all the functions connected with the Durbar.

THE RESULT OF THE DURBAR

The great Durbar was a splendid success and as Mr. Harold Cox wrote, one is tempted to say, paradoxical though it may sound, that the great success that King George has achieved by coming to India is to demonstrate that in the East as well as in the West democracy and Royalty not only can be reconciled, but already are. King George and Queen Mary have succeeded in proving this because they have shown themselves to be not merely names but realities. They have shown that they realise to the full the part which Kings and Queens, if they wish to do their duty, have to play in a democratic age. They have played their parts splendidly throughout the whole of their stay in Delhi, and the whole Empire owes to them a debt of gratitude for the success they have achieved.

APPENDIX.—B.

THE CHANGE OF CAPITAL.

The following is the full text of the correspondence that passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India on the administrative changes announced by the King-Emperor :—

THE DESPATCHES

To the Right Hon. the Marquess of Crewe, K. G.,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Simla, 25th, August, 1911.

MY LORD MARQUESS,

We venture in this dispatch to address your Lordship on a most important and urgent subject, embracing two questions of great political moment which are in our opinion indissolubly linked together. This subject has engaged our attention for some time past and the proposals which we are about to submit for your Lordship's consideration are the result of our mature deliberation. We shall in the first place attempt to set forth the circumstances which have induced us to frame these proposals at this particular juncture and then proceed to lay before your Lordship the broad general features of our scheme.

2. That the Government of India should have its seat in the same city as one of the chief provincial Governments, and moreover in a city geographically so ill-adapted as Calcutta to be the capital of the Indian Empire, has long been recognised to be a serious anomaly. We need not stop to recall the circumstances in which

Calcutta rose to its present position. The considerations which explain its original selection as the principal seat of the Government have long since passed away with the consolidation of British rule throughout the Peninsula and the development of a great inland system of railway communication. But it is only in the light of recent developments, constitutional and political, that the drawbacks of the existing arrangement and the urgency of a change have been fully realised. On the one hand, the almost incalculable importance of the part which can already safely be predicted for the Imperial Legislative Council in the shape it has assumed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, renders the removal of the capital to a more central and easily accessible position practically imperative. On the other hand, the peculiar political situation which has arisen in Bengal since the Partition makes it eminently desirable to withdraw the Government of India from its present provincial environment, while its removal from Bengal is an essential feature of the scheme we have in view for allaying the ill-feeling aroused by the partition amongst the Bengali population. Once the necessity of removing the seat of the Supreme Government from Bengal is established, as we trust it may be, by the considerations we propose to lay before your Lordship, there can be, in our opinion, no manner of doubt as to the choice of the new capital or as to the occasion on which that choice should be announced. On geographical, historical and political grounds, the capital of the Indian Empire should be at Delhi, and the announcement that the transfer of the seat of Government to Delhi had been sanctioned should be made by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the forthcoming Imperial Durbar in Delhi itself.

3. The maintenance of British rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General in Council, and the Indian Councils Act of 1909 itself bears testimony to the impossibility of allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official votes in the Imperial Legislative-Council. Nevertheless it is certain that in the course of

time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular provincial Government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is, therefore, a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of local self-government on sound and safe lines. It is generally recognised that the capital of a great Central Government should be separate and independent, and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada and Australia.

4. The administrative advantages of the transfer would be scarcely less valuable than the political. In the first place, the development of the Legislative Councils has made the withdrawal of the Supreme Council and the Government of India from the influence of local opinion, a matter of ever-increasing urgency. Secondly, events in Bengal are apt to react on the Viceroy and the Government of India, to whom the responsibility for them is often wrongly attributed. The connection is bad for the Government of India, bad for the Bengal Government; and unfair to the other provinces, whose representatives view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. Further, public opinion in Calcutta is by no means always the same as that which obtains elsewhere in India, and it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to its influence.

5. The question of providing a separate capital for the Government of India has often been debated, but generally with the object of finding a site where that Government could spend all seasons of the year. Such a solution would of course be ideal, but it is impracticable. The various sites suggested are either difficult of access or are devoid of historical associations. Delhi is the only possible place. It has splendid communications, its climate is good for seven months in the year and its salubrity could be ensured at a reasonable cost. The Government of India would, therefore, be able to stay in Delhi from the 1st of October to the 1st of May, whilst owing to the much greater proximity the annual migration to and from Simla could be reduced in volume, would take up much less time and be far less costly. Some branches of the administration, such as railways and posts and telegraphs, would obviously derive special benefit from the change to such a central position, and the only department which, as we can see, might be thought to suffer some inconvenience would be that of Commerce and Industry, which would be less closely in touch at Delhi with the commercial and industrial interests centred in Calcutta. On the other hand that department would be closer to the other commercial centres of Bombay and Karachi, whose interests are sometimes opposed to those of Calcutta and would thus be in a better position to deal impartially with the railway and commercial interests of the whole of India.

6. The political advantages of the transfer it is impossible to overestimate. Delhi is still a name to conjure with. It is intimately associated in the minds of the Hindus with sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of the history. It is on the plains of Delhi that the Pandava Princes fought out with the Kauravas, the epic struggle recorded in the Mahabharata and celebrated on the banks of the Jumna the famous sacrifice which consecrated their title to empire. The Purana Kila still marks the site of the city which they founded and called Indraprastha, barely three miles from the South Gate of the modern City of Delhi.

7. To the Mahomedans, it would be a source of unbounded gratification to see the ancient capital of the Moghuls restored to its proud position as the seat of empire throughout India. As far south as the Mahomedan conquest extended, every walled town has its 'Delhi Gate' and among the masses of the people it is still revered as the seat of the former empire. The change would strike the imagination of the people of India as nothing else could do. It would send a wave of enthusiasm throughout the country and would be accepted by all as the assertion of an unfaltering determination to maintain British rule in India. It would be hailed with joy by the Ruling Chiefs and races of Northern India and would be warmly welcomed by the vast majority of Indians throughout the continent.

8. The only serious opposition to the transfer which may be anticipated may, we think, come from the European commercial community of Calcutta, who might, we fear, not regard the creation of a Governorship of Bengal as altogether adequate compensation for the withdrawal of the Government of India. The opposition will be quite intelligible, but we can no doubt count upon their patriotism to reconcile them to a measure which would greatly contribute to the welfare of the Indian Empire. The Bengalis might not, of course, be favourably disposed to the proposal if it stood alone, for it will entail the loss of some of the influence which they now exercise owing to the fact Calcutta is the headquarters of the Government of India. But as we hope presently to show they should be reconciled to the change by other features of our scheme which are specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment. In these circumstances, we do not think that they would be so manifestly unreasonable as to oppose it, and, if they did, might confidently expect that their opposition would raise no echo in the rest of India.

Absolutely conclusive as these general considerations in favour of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi in themselves appear to us to be, there are further special considerations arising out of

the present political situation in Bengal and Eastern Bengal which, in our opinion, renders such a measure peculiarly opportune at such a moment, and to these we would now draw your Lordship's earnest attention.

9. Various circumstances have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding, and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure. Eastern Bengal and Assam has, no doubt, benefitted greatly by the partition, and the Mahomedans of the province, who form a majority of the population, are loyal and contented, but the resentment amongst the Bengalis in both provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions, and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever, though somewhat less vocal.

10. The opposition to the partition of Bengal was at first based mainly on sentimental grounds, but as we shall show later in discussing the proposed modification of the partition, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and especially of the representative element in them, the grievance of the Bengalis has become much more real and tangible and is likely to increase, instead of to diminish. Everyone with any true desire for the peace and prosperity of this country must wish to find some manner of appeasement if it is in any way possible to do so. The simple rescission of the partition and a reversion to the *status quo ante* are manifestly impossible both on political and on administrative grounds. The old province of Bengal was unmanageable under any form of Government, and we could not defraud the legitimate expectations of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, who form the bulk of the population of that province and who have been loyal to the British Government throughout the troubles, without exposing ourselves to the charge of bad faith. A settlement to be satisfactory and conclusive must—

- (1) provide convenient administrative units ;
- (2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Bengalis ;

(3) duly safeguard the interests of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, and generally conciliate Mahomedan sentiment; and

(4) be so clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency as to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation.

11. If the headquarters of the Government of India be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, and if Delhi be thereby made the Imperial Capital placing the City of Delhi and part of the surrounding country under the direct administration of the Government of India the following scheme, which embraces three inter-dependent proposals, would appear to satisfy all these conditions:—

I. To reunite the five Bengali speaking Divisions, viz., the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions, forming them into a Presidency to be administered by a Governor-in-Council. The area of the province will be approximately 70,000 square miles and the population about 42,000,000.

II. To create a Lieutenant-Governorship-in-Council to consist of Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa, with a Legislative Council and a capital at Patna. The area of the province would be approximately 113,000 square miles, and the population about 35,900,000.

III. To restore the Chief Commissionership of Assam. The area of that province would be about 56,000 square miles and the population, about 5,000,000.

12. We elaborated at the outset our proposal to make Delhi the future capital of India, because we consider this the key-stone of the whole project and hold that according as it is accepted or not, our scheme must stand or fall.

13. But we have still to discuss in greater detail the leading features of the other part of our scheme. Chief amongst them is the proposal to constitute a Governorship-in-Council for Bengal. The history of the Partition dates from 1902. Various schemes of territorial redistribution were at that time under con-

sideration and that which was ultimately adopted had at any rate the merit of fulfilling two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view. It relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal and it gave the Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had perhaps hitherto not had their fair share. On the other hand, as we have already pointed out, it was deeply resented by the Bengalis. No doubt sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis, and in saying this we by no means wish to underrate the importance which should be attached to sentiment, even if it be exaggerated. It is, however, no longer a matter of mere sentiment but rather, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, one of undeniable reality. In pre-reform scheme days the non-official element in the Councils was small. The representation of the people has now been carried a long step forward and in the Legislative Councils of both the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal, the Bengalis find themselves in a minority, being outnumbered in the one by Beharis and Ooriyas and in the other by the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal and the inhabitants of Assam. As matters now stand, the Bengalis can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time as the representative character of the Legislative Councils increases and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is, therefore, only too much reason to fear that instead of dying down the bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute.

14. It has frequently been alleged in the press that the Partition is the root cause of all recent troubles in India. The growth of political unrest in other parts of the country and notably in the Deccan before the partition of Bengal took place disproves that assertion, and we need not ascribe to the Partition evils which have not obviously flowed from it. It is cer-

tain, however, that it is in part, at any rate, responsible for the growing estrangement which has now unfortunately assumed a very serious character in many parts of the country between Mahomedans and Hindus. We are not without hope that a modification of the partition which we now propose, will in some degree at any rate alleviate this most regrettable antagonism.

15. To sum up, the results anticipated from the Partition have not been altogether realised and the scheme as designed and executed could only be justified by success. Although good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Mahomedans of that province have reaped the benefit of a sympathetic administration closely in touch with them, those advantages have been in a great measure counterbalanced by the violent hostility which the Partition has aroused amongst the Bengalis. For the reasons we have already indicated we feel bound to admit that the Bengalis are labouring under a sense of real injustice, which we believe it would be sound policy to remove without further delay. The Durbar of December next affords a unique occasion for rectifying what is regarded by Bengalis as a grievous wrong.

16. Anxious as we are to take Bengali feeling into account, we cannot overrate the importance of consulting, at the same time, the interests and sentiments of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal. It must be remembered that the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal have at present an overwhelming majority in point of population and that if the Bengali-speaking Divisions were amalgamated on the lines suggested in our scheme, the Mahomedans would still be in a position of approximate numerical equality with, or possibly of small superiority over the Hindus. The future province of Bengal, moreover, will be a compact territory of quite moderate extent. The Governor-in-Council will have ample time and opportunity to study the needs of the various communities committed to his charge. Unlike his predecessors, he will have a great advantage in that he will find ready to

hand at Dacca a second capital with all the conveniences of ordinary provincial headquarters. He will reside there from time to time, just as the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces frequently resides in Lucknow, and he will in this way be enabled to keep in close touch with Mahomedan sentiments and interests. It must also be borne in mind that the interests of the Mahomedans will be safeguarded by the special representation which they enjoy in the Legislative Councils; while as regards representation on local bodies they will be in the same position as at present. We need not, therefore, trouble Your Lordship with the reasons why we have discarded the suggestion that a Chief Commissionership, or a semi-independent Commissionership within the new province might be created at Dacca.

17. We regard the creation of a Governorship-in-Council of Bengal as a very important feature of our scheme. It is by no means a new one. The question of the creation of a Governorship was fully discussed in 1867 to 1868 by the Secretary of State and the Government of India, and a Committee was formed, on the initiative of Sir Stafford Northcote, to consider it and that of the transfer of the capital elsewhere. In the somewhat voluminous correspondence of the past the most salient points that emerge are:—

(1) That a Governorship of Bengal would not be compatible with the presence in Calcutta of the Viceroy and the Government of India;

(2) that, had it been decided to create a Governorship of Bengal, the question of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta would have been taken into consideration;

(3) that although a majority of the Governor-General's Council and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir William Grey) were in favour of the creation of a Governorship, Sir John Lawrence, the Governor-General was opposed to the proposal, but for purposes of better administration contemplated the constitution of a Lieutenant-Governorship of Behar and the separation of Assam from Bengal under a Chief Commissioner. Since the discussions

of 1867-1868 considerable and very important changes have taken place in the constitutional development of Bengal. That province has already an Executive Council, and the only change that would, therefore, be necessary for the realisation of this part of our scheme is that the Lieutenant-Governorship should be converted into a Governorship. Particular arguments have from time to time been urged against the appointment of a Governor from England. These were, that Bengal, more than any other province, requires the head of the Government to possess an intimate knowledge of India and of the Indian people, and that a statesman or politician appointed from England without previous knowledge of India would in no part of the country find his ignorance a greater drawback or be less able to cope with the intricacies of an exceedingly complex position.

18. We have no wish to underrate the great advantage to an Indian administrator of an intimate knowledge of the country and of the people he is to govern. At the same time, actual experience has shown that a Governor, carefully selected and appointed from England and aided by a Council, can successfully administer a large Indian province, and that province so administered requires less supervision on the part of the Government of India. In this connection, we may again refer to the correspondence of 1867-68 and cite two of the arguments employed by the late Sir Henry Maine, when discussing the question of a Council form of Government for Bengal. They are:—

(1) That the system in Madras and Bombay has enabled a series of men of no conspicuous ability to carry on a difficult Government for a century with great success;

(2) that the concession of a full Governorship to Bengal would have a good effect on English public opinion, which would accordingly cease to impose on the Government of India a responsibility which it is absolutely impossible to discharge.

In view of the great difficulties connected with the administration of Bengal we attach the highest importance to these arguments. We are also convinced

that nothing short of a full Governorship would satisfy the aspirations of the Bengalis and of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal. We may add that, as in the case of the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, the appointment would be open to members of the Indian Civil Service, although no doubt in practice the Governor will usually be recruited from England.

19. On the other hand, one very grave and obvious objection has been raised in the past to the creation of a Governorship for Bengal which we should fully share were it not disposed of by the proposal which constitutes the keystone of our scheme. Unquestionably a most undesirable situation might and would quite possibly arise if a Governor-General of India and a Governor of Bengal both selected from the ranks of English publicmen were to reside in the same capital and be liable to be brought in various ways into regrettable antagonism or rivalry. This indeed constitutes yet another and, in our opinion, a very cogent reason why the headquarters of the Government of India should be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi.

20. We now turn to the proposal to create a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Behar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa. We are convinced that if the Governor of Bengal is to do justice to the territories which we propose to assign to him and to safeguard the interests of the Mahomedans of his province, Behar and Chota-Nagpur must be dissociated from Bengal. Quite apart, however, from that consideration, we are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people now included within the province of Bengal a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalis and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of 'Behar for the Beharis' has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments, an excessive number of offices in Behar having been held by Bengalis. The Beharis are a sturdy loyal people, and it is a matter of common knowledge that although they have long desired se-

paration from Bengal, they refrained at the time of the Partition from asking for it, because they did not wish to join the Bengalis in opposition to Government. There has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years and a strong belief has grown up among Beharis that Behar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal. That belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future, and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our own initiative a thoroughly sound and much-desired change. The Ooriyas, like the Behares, have little in common with the Bengalis, and we propose to leave Orissa (and the Sambhalpur district) with Behar and Chota-Nagpur. We believe that this arrangement will well accord with popular sentiment in Orissa and will be welcome to Behar as presenting a seaboard to that province. We need hardly add that we have considered various alternatives, such as the making over of Chota-Nagpur or of Orissa to the Central Provinces and the creation of a Chief Commissionership instead of a Lieutenant-Governorship for Behar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa, but none of them seems to deserve more than passing consideration, and we have, therefore, refrained from troubling Your Lordship with the overwhelming arguments against them. We have also purposely refrained from discussing in this despatch questions of subsidiary importance which must demand detailed consideration when the main features of the scheme are sanctioned, and we are in a position to consult the local Government concerned.

21. We now pass on to the last proposal, *viz.*, to restore the Chief Commissionership of Assam. This would be merely a reversion to the policy advocated by Sir John Lawrence in 1867. This part of India is still in a backward condition and more fit for administration by a Chief Commissioner than a more highly developed form of government, and we may notice that this was the view which prevailed in 1896-1897, when the question of transferring the Chittagong Division and the Dacca and Mymensingh districts to Assam was first discussed. Events of the past 12

months on the frontiers of Assam and Burma have clearly shown the necessity of having the north-east frontier like the north-west frontier, more directly under the control of the Government of India and removed from that of the local Government. We may add that we do not anticipate that any opposition will be raised to this proposal, which moreover, forms an essential part of our scheme.

22. We will now give a rough indication of the cost of the scheme. No attempt at accuracy is possible, because we have purposely avoided making enquiries, as they would be likely to result in the premature disclosure of our proposals. The cost of the transfer to Delhi would be considerable. We cannot conceive however, that a larger sum than four million sterling would be necessary, and within that figure probably could be found the three years' interest on capital which would have to be paid till the necessary works and buildings were completed. We might find it necessary to issue a 'City of Delhi' gold loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. guaranteed by the Government of India, the interest, or the larger part of the interest, on this loan being eventually obtainable from rents and taxes. In connection with a general enhancement of land values, which would ensue at Delhi as a result of the transfer, we should endeavour to secure some part of the increment value, which at Calcutta has gone into the pockets of the landlords. Other assets which would form a set-off to the expenditure would be the great rise of Government land at Delhi and its neighbourhood, and a considerable amount which would be realised on the sale of Government land and buildings no longer required at Calcutta. The proximity of Delhi to Simla would also have the effect of reducing the current expenditure involved in the annual move to and from Simla. The actual railway journey from Calcutta to Simla takes 42 hours, while Delhi can be reached from Simla in 14 hours. Further, inasmuch as the Government of India would be able to stay longer in Delhi than in Calcutta, the cost on account of hill allowances would be reduced. We should also add that many of

the works now in progress at Delhi in connection with the construction of roads and railways and the provision of electricity and water for the Durbar, and upon which considerable expenditure has been incurred, will be of appreciable value to the Government of India as permanent works when the transfer is made.

23. As regards the remaining proposals, the recurring expenditure will be that involved in the creation of a Governorship for Bengal and a Chief Commissionership for Assam. The pay and allowances, taken together, of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal already exceed the pay of a Governor of Madras or Bombay, and the increase in expenditure, when a Governor is appointed, would not, we think, be much beyond that required for the support of a body guard and a band. Considerable initial expenditure would be required in connection with the acquisition of land and the construction of buildings for the new capital of Behar, and judging from the experience gained in connection with Dacca, we may assume that this will amount to about 50 or 60 lakhs. Some further initial expenditure would be necessary in connection with the summer head-quarters, wherever these may be fixed.

24. Before concluding this despatch we venture to say a few words as regards the need for a very early decision on the proposals we have put forward for Your Lordship's consideration. It is manifest that, if the transfer of the capital is to be given effect to, the question becomes more difficult the longer that it remains unsolved. The experience of the last two sessions has shown that the present Council Chamber in Government House, Calcutta, fails totally to meet the needs of the enlarged Imperial Legislative Council and the proposal to acquire a site and to construct a Council Chamber is already under discussion. Once a new Council Chamber is built, the position of Calcutta as the Capital of India will be further strengthened and consolidated and, though we are convinced that a transfer will in any case eventually have to be made, it will then be attended by much greater

difficulty and still further expense. Similarly, if some modification of the partition is, as we believe, desirable, the sooner it is effected the better; but we do not see how it can be safely effected with due regard for the dignity of Government as well as for the public opinion of the rest of India and more especially for Mahomedan sentiment, except as part of the larger scheme we have outlined. In the event of these far-reaching proposals being sanctioned by His Majesty's Government, as we trust may be the case, we are of opinion that the presence of His Majesty the King-Emperor at Delhi would offer an unique opportunity for a pronouncement of one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of British rule in India. The other two proposals embodied in our scheme are not of such great urgency but are consequently essential and in themselves of great importance. Half measures will be of no avail, and whatever is to be done should be done so as to make a final settlement and to satisfy the claims of all concerned. The scheme which we have ventured to commend to Your Lordship's favourable consideration is not put forward with any spirit of opportunism, but in the belief that action on the lines proposed will be a bold stroke of statesmanship which would give unprecedented satisfaction and will for ever associate so unique an event as the visit of the reigning Sovereign to his Indian dominions with a new era in the history of India.

25. Should the above scheme meet with the approval of Your Lordship and His Majesty's Government, we would propose that the King-Emperor should announce at the Durbar the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi and simultaneously and as a consequence of that transfer the creation at an early date of a Governorship in Council for Bengal and of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as the Governor-General-in-Council would in due course determine with a view to removing any legitimate causes for dissatisfaction arising out of the

partition of 1905: The formula of such a pronouncement could be defined after general sanction had been given to the scheme. This sanction we have now the honour to solicit from Your Lordship.

We should thus be able after the Durbar to discuss in detail with local and other authorities the best method of carrying out a modification of the partition of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final, and satisfactory to all.

We have the honour, to be, My Lord Marquess,
Your Lordship's most obedient, and humble servants,

(Signed) HARDINGE OF PENSHURST.

(Signed) O'MOORE CREAGH.

(Signed) GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON.

(Signed) J. L. JENKINS.

(Signed) R. W. CARLYLE.

(Signed) S. H. BUTLER.

(Signed) SAIYID ALIMAM.

(Signed) W. H. CLARK.

LORD CREWE'S REPLY.

India Office, London, 1st November, 1911.

To His Excellency the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India-in-Council.

My Lord.

I have received your Excellency's despatch, dated the 25th of August last, and issued in the Home Department and I have considered it in Council with the attention due to the importance of its subject.

2. In the first place, you propose to transfer from Calcutta to Delhi the seat of the Government of India, a momentous change which, in your opinion, can be advocated on its intrinsic merits and apart from the considerations which are discussed in the later passages of your despatch. You point out with truth that many of the circumstances which explain the selection of Fort William in the second half of the eighteenth century as the head-quarters of the East India Company cannot now be adduced as arguments for the permanent retention of Calcutta as the capital of British India, while certain new conditions and

developments seem to point positively towards the removal of the Central Government to another position. Such a suggestion is in itself not entirely novel, since it has often been asked whether the inconvenience and cost of an annual migration to the hills could not be avoided by founding a new official capital at some place in which Europeans could reside healthfully and work efficiently throughout the whole year. You regard any such solution as impracticable, in my judgment rightly, and you proceed to describe in favourable terms the purely material claims of Delhi for approval as the new centre of Government. There should be undoubted advantage both in a longer sojourn at the capital than is at present advisable and in the shorter journey to and from Simla, when the yearly transfer has to be made, while weight may properly be attached to the central situation of Delhi and to its fortunate position as a great railway junction. As you point out, these facts of themselves ensure not a few administrative advantages, and I am not disposed to attach serious importance to the removal of the Department of Commerce and Industry from a busy centre like Calcutta, for any official disadvantage due to this cause should be counter balanced by the gain of a wider outlook upon the commercial activities of India as a whole.

3. From the historical standpoint, to which you justly draw attention, impressive reasons in support of the transfer cannot less easily be advanced. Not only do the ancient walls of Delhi enshrine an imperial tradition comparable with that of Constantinople or with that of Rome itself, but the near neighbourhood of the existing city formed the theatre for some most notable scenes in the old time drama of Hindu history celebrated in the vast treasure-house of national epic verse. To the races of India, for whom the legends and records of the past are charged with so intense a meaning, this resumption by the paramount power of the venerable seat of empire should at once ensure the continuity and promise the permanency of British sovereign rule over the length and breadth of the country. Historical reasons will thus

prove to be political reasons of deep importance and of real value in favour of the change. I share, too, your belief that the Ruling Chiefs as a body will favour the policy and give to it their hearty adhesion.

4. But, however solid may be the material advantages which you enumerate, and however warm the anticipated response from Indian sentiment, it may be questioned whether we should venture to contemplate so abrupt a departure from the traditions of British Government and so complete a dislocation of settled official habits, if we were able to regard with absolute satisfaction the position as it exists at Calcutta.

5. Your Excellency is not unaware that for some time past I have appreciated the special difficulties arising from the collocation of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in the same head-quarters. The arrangement, as you frankly describe it, is a bad one for both Governments, and the Viceroy for the time being is inevitably faced by this dilemma, that either he must become Governor-in-Chief of Bengal in a unique sense, or he must consent to be saddled by public opinion, both in India and at home, with direct liability for acts of administration or policy over which he only exercises in fact the general control of a supreme Government. The local Government, on the other hand, necessarily suffers from losing some part of the sense of responsibility rightly attaching to it as to other similar administrations. It involves no imputation either upon Your Excellency's Government, or upon the distinguished public servants who have carried on the Government of Bengal, to pronounce the system radically an unsound one.

6. It might, indeed, have been thought possible to correct this anomaly with less disturbance of present conditions, by retaining Calcutta as the central seat of Government, under the immediate control of the Viceroy, and transferring the Government of Bengal elsewhere. But two considerations appear to forbid the adoption of such a course. In the first place, it is

doubtful whether the arbitrary creation of an artificial boundary could in practice cause Calcutta, so long the capital of Western Bengal, to cease altogether to be a Bengali city in the fullest sense. Again, the experiment of turning the second city of the British Empire into an Imperial *enclave* would be certain to cast a new and altogether undue burden upon the shoulders of the Governor-General, however freely the actual work of administration might be delegated to subordinate officials. It is true that Washington, during the century since it became the capital of the United States, has grown into a large and wealthy city, with industries on a considerable scale, but even now it possesses less than a third of the population of Calcutta, while Ottawa and the new Australian foundation of Yass-Canberra are likely to continue mainly as political capitals. Such a solution may therefore be dismissed, while no parallel difficulties need be dreaded if Delhi and its surroundings are placed directly under the Government of India.

7. I am glad to observe that you have not underrated the objections to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters. The compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment by other of your inter-dependent proposals is, in my opinion, fully adequate, and I do not think it necessary to dwell further on this aspect of the change. But it cannot be supposed that the European community of Calcutta, particularly the commercial section, can regard it without some feelings of chagrin and disappointment in their capacity as citizens. But you may rely, I am certain, upon their wider patriotism and upon their willingness to subordinate local and personal considerations to those which concern the general good of India. Nor on full reflection, need they fear any seriously untoward consequences. The city will remain the seat of a most prominent and influential Government. I see no reason why it should suffer in material prosperity, retaining as it will, not merely an almost universal commerce, but the practical monopoly in more than one branch of trade. And

from the standpoint of sentiment, nothing can ever deprive Calcutta of her association with a century and a half of British Government, signalised by many great events, and adorned by the famous roll of those who have preceded your Excellency in the office of Governor-General. Such a history is a perpetual possession, and it will guide the steps of all travellers to Calcutta not less certainly than has the presence of the Supreme Government in the past.

8. In view of this change it is your desire that a Governorship-in-Council should be constituted for Bengal. You remind me that the possibility of such a creation was fully discussed in the years 1867 and 1868, although divergent opinions were expressed by different authorities of that day, and no steps were in fact taken. One of the principal objections felt then, as now, to the proposition taken by itself, hinged on the difficulty of planting such an administration in Calcutta side by side with that of the Government of India. The criticism is valid, but it would be silenced by the transfer of the capital to Delhi. I note with general agreement your observations upon the probable appointment in ordinary circumstances of a statesman or administrator from the United Kingdom to the Governorship of Bengal, while concurring that the appointment, like the other great Governorships, would be open to members of the Indian Civil Service whenever it might be desirable to seek for an occupant among their ranks. I also share your conviction that no lower grade of administration would be held in the altered conditions to satisfy the reasonable aspirations either of Hindus or of Mahomedans for the reputation and status of Bengal among the great divisions of India.

9. In considering the area which the Governor of a new Bengal should be called upon to administer, it is not necessary to recall at length the steps which led up to the partition of the former Presidency or to engage in detailed examination of its results. It is universally admitted that up to the year 1905, the task which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and his subordinates had to perform, having regard to the

extent of the Presidency and its population and the difficulties of communication in many districts, was one with which no energy or capacity could completely cope. It is equally certain that the provincial centre of gravity was unduly diverted to the western portion of the area and to Calcutta itself, with the result that the Mahomedan community of Eastern Bengal were unintentionally deprived of an adequate share of consideration and attention. Such a state of affairs was not likely to agitate public opinion on this side of the water; the name of Dacca, once so familiar to British ears, had become almost unknown to them. A re-arrangement of administration at the instance of the Government of India was, therefore, almost imperative, but the plan that was ultimately adopted, while effecting some beneficial changes in Eastern Bengal and offering relief to the overlaid Government, produced consequences in relation to the Bengali population which you depict with accuracy and fairness. History teaches us that it has sometimes been found necessary to ignore local sentiment or to override racial prejudice in the interest of sound administration or in order to establish an ethical or political principle. But even where indisputable justification can be claimed, such an exercise of authority is almost always regrettable in itself, and it will often be wise to grasp an opportunity of assuaging the resentment which has been aroused where this can be done without practical detriment to order and good government. You point out, moreover, that in this case the grievance is not only one of sentiment but that in connection with the Legislative Councils the Bengali population is subject to practical disabilities which demand and merit some redress. In your Excellency's opinion the desired object can properly be achieved by re-uniting the five Bengali-speaking divisions of the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong, into the new Presidency to be for the future administered by the Governor of Bengal-in-Council.

10. At the same time, you lay deserved stress on the importance of giving no ground for apprehension

to the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, lest their interests should be injuriously affected by the intended alteration. In common with others of their faith, they would presumably regard with satisfaction the recreation of Delhi as the capital of India, but they would be primarily concerned with the local aspect of the proposals. It is evident that in delimiting the new Presidency care is needed to see that the balance of the different populations, though it could not remain throughout the entire area as it stands at present in Eastern Bengal and Assam, is not really disturbed, and as you point out, the special representation on the Legislative Councils which is enjoyed by the Mahomedans supplies them with a distinct safeguard in this respect. I attach, however, no little importance to the proposal that the Governor of Bengal should regard Dacca as his second capital with full claims on his regular attention, and his residence for an appreciable part of the year. The arrangements which have been made there for the administration of the existing Lieutenant-Governor will thus not merely be utilised, but will serve a valuable purpose which it would have been difficult to secure had the proposals, similar to those which you now make, been put forward when the whole of Bengal was undivided. In these circumstances, I consider that you are right not to make any suggestion for a Commissionership at Dacca analogous to that existing in Sind in the Presidency of Bombay.

11. Your next proposition involves the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship-in-Council for Behar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa. I observe that you have considered and dismissed a number of alternative suggestions for dealing with these three important and interesting divisions. Some of these schemes, as your Excellency is aware, have at different times been the subjects of discussion when a re-arrangement of boundaries has been contemplated and I refrain from commenting on any of them at this moment, holding as I do that you have offered the plainest and most reasonable solution, if any substantial change is to be made at all. The three sub-provinces above named

while differing *inter se* in some marked feature are alike loosely connected with Bengal proper, and their complete administrative severance would involve no hardship to the Presidency.

12. You describe the desire of the hardy and law-abiding inhabitants of Behar for clearer expression of their local individuality differing from the Bengalis as they largely do in origin, in language, in proclivities and in the nature of the soil they cultivate. Orissa again with its variety of races and physical conditions with its considerable seaboard invested with a peculiar sanctity of religious tradition prefers a code of land legislation founded on a system of tenure differing in the main from those both of Bengal and of the Central Provinces, and has long felt uneasiness at a possible loss of identity as a distinct community. The highlands of Chota Nagpur are less densely populated than Bengal and containing a large aboriginal element, also possess ancestral and historical claims for separate treatment in various respects. These three subdivisions with their combined population of some thirty-five millions would form a charge well within the compass of a Lieutenant-Governorship, and it may be assumed that the controlling officer would be able to bestow continuous care and attention upon each of the divisions within his area. Regarding the concluding suggestion which you put forward, that the Chief Commissionership of Assam should be revived, I attach weight to your argument that the political conditions on the north-eastern frontier of India render it desirable that like the north-west frontier, it should be the immediate concern of your Excellency's government, rather than a local Administration, and I note your belief, which I trust may prove to be well-founded, that the inhabitants of this province of first-rate importance in industry and commerce are not likely to offer any opposition to the change. On the contrary they may be disposed to welcome it, since I am confident that the Supreme Government would assiduously preserve all local interests, either material or sentimental, from any possible detriment attributable to the altered system.

13. I make no complaint of the fact that your Excellency is unable at this stage to present for sanction a close estimation of the cost which is likely to be incurred in respect of the various proposals included in your despatch either by way of initial or of recurring expenditure. You have only found it possible to name the round sum of four millions sterling which you regard as the outside figure of cost which could be incurred by the transfer to Delhi, and you indicate your opinion that this amount might be raised by a special gold loan. I agree that it was not possible for you in the special circumstances of the case to undertake the investigations which would have been necessary before you could submit even a general estimate of expenditure either at Delhi or in relation to the Governorship of Bengal, to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the new united provinces or to the Chief Commissionership of Assam. This being so, I refrain for the present from making any observations on this part of the subject, merely stating my general conviction that your Excellency is fully alive to the magnitude of the proposed operations and to the necessity for thoughtful preparations and continuous vigilance in order that the expenditure which must necessarily be so large may be conducted with no tinge of wastefulness, and as regards the particular case of Delhi, assuring you that my full sympathy will be extended to any efforts you may make to prevent the holding up against the Government of land which you may find it necessary to secure for public purposes.

14. I find myself in general agreement with your Excellency when you state that if this policy is to be approved, it is imperative to avoid delay in carrying it into effect. You give substantial reasons for this opinion, both on administrative and economical grounds and though a number of details remain for settlement many of which must demand careful examination and consultation, while some may awaken differences of opinion, it is possible now to pronounce a definite opinion upon the broad feature of the scheme. Regarding it as a whole and appreciating

the balance sought to be maintained between the different races, classes and interests likely to be affected, I cannot recall in history, nor can I picture in any portion of the civilised world as it now exists a series of administrative changes of so wide a scope, culminating in the transfer of the main seat of Government carried out, as I believe the future will prove with so little detriment to any class of the community while satisfying the historical sense of millions, aiding the general work of Government and removing the deeply felt grievance of many, I therefore, give my general sanction to your proposals and I share in your belief that the transfer of the capital and the committant features of the scheme form a subject worthy of announcement by the King-Emperor in person on the unique and eagerly anticipated occasion at Delhi.

15. I am commanded to inform you that at the Durbar on the 12th of December, His Imperial Majesty will be pleased to declare that Delhi will become the capital city of India, that a Governor-in-Council will be appointed for Bengal, a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa and a Chief Commissioner for the Province of Assam.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,
CREWE.

APPENDIX.—C.

THE RULING CHIEFS' CONFERENCE

A conference of the ruling chiefs and princes of India assembled on the morning of the 30th October, 1916 in the Imperial Council Chamber, Delhi. It was a superb gathering attended by over forty Princes and Feudatory Chiefs from all parts of India. H. E. Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy who presided over the conference opened the session with an address of welcome in which he traced the genesis of the movement for a Council of Princes.

*

The Second Conference of the Ruling Chiefs and Princes of India met at the Imperial Council Chamber, Delhi on the 5th November, 1917. About forty nine princes were present at the Conference which H. E. Lord Chelmsford opened with an address of welcome. At the close of the Conference H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, on behalf of the Ruling Princes made a speech in which he pointed out the need for "the early establishment of a constitutional chamber which may safeguard the interests and rights of ourselves and of our states." H. E. the Viceroy in concluding the proceedings said that he would arrange for preliminary and informal discussions on the subject towards the close of Mr. Montagu's stay in India : and he added : "I shall lose no time in placing before him your views on the subject when they have been formulated."

* For a full account of the two conferences see *Indian Review* Vols. XVII, 1916 & XVIII, 1917.

APPENDIX.—D.

THE WAR CONFERENCE

One of the most striking and impressive gatherings held at Delhi was the War Conference which H. E. Lord Chelmsford summoned at the Council Chamber on the 27th April 1918. The object of this important conference was to decide what India shall do to help the Empire at a critical stage in the history of the great war. Invitations were issued to prominent men all over India, European and Indian, including Ruling Princes, high officials, leading members of the commercial community, land-holders and politicians of various grades of opinion. The War Conference proved, if proof were wanted, the strength and solidarity of India's fidelity to the Empire and the determination of the princes and people of India to do their utmost to save that Empire from the menace of the king's enemies.*

H. M. the King-Emperor sent a gracious message which was read by His Excellency the Viceroy at the close of his impressive address. The Conference appointed various committees *re* man-power and resources for more vigilant war work and passed several important resolutions in connection with India's help in the successful prosecution of the war.*

* The Proceedings of this Conference have been published in pamphlet form by the Government of India.

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